

**SOCIAL CONTROL AND
DEVIANCE
IN
EDINBURGH'S PAKISTANI COMMUNITY**

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**Ph.D.
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
1994**



DECLARATION

This thesis is based on my original research, is composed solely by myself, and the work is entirely my own.

A. Ali Wardak

ABSTRACT

This thesis involves an analysis of social control and deviance in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. The analysis is based on empirical field-data that was collected through both qualitative and quantitative methods of social inquiry. In addition, historical documents and the most recent government census data were also used to provide a broader historical and structural framework for this study.

The analysis of the historical and contemporary empirical evidence shows that the Pakistani population of Great Britain have been discriminated against and excluded from the social, cultural, and political institutional life of the wider society since their arrival. It is argued that because of their experiences of discrimination and exclusion, members of the Pakistani community in Great Britain and in Edinburgh feel alienated; they feel treated as non-citizens and therefore see themselves as having no social and political belonging to the wider British society. This, it is maintained, has led the British Pakistanis to strengthen their cultural, social and religious institutions and to create their own communities where they can find social and cultural belonging and social and psychological security. The analysis in this thesis is more specifically focused on an empirical study of Edinburgh's Pakistani community that has developed its own social, cultural, religious, political and economic institutions, which constitute its moral and social order – the moral and social order of a "closed" community that has little or no interaction with the wider society. One of the two principal questions that is dealt with in this broad context is how this "closed" community is socially organised, and how its social order is maintained.

This question is essentially about social control; it is a question about the ways the various social processes and mechanisms operate to maintain the social and moral order of the Pakistani community in Edinburgh. The present study identifies four major social institutions within Edinburgh's Pakistani community that operate as agencies of social control. They are: the family, the *Biraderi* (social network of kinship/friendship relationships), the mosque and the "Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and the East of Scotland" (P.A.E.E.S.). It is argued that the various institutional arrangements and processes constituting the community's moral and social order are at the same time responsible for its maintenance. They operate as mechanisms of social control through the social bonding of the community's members

to its social and moral order. The various mechanisms of social control interact among themselves in complex ways, which are illustrated in the latter part of the thesis.

Social control, it is argued, is closely related to social deviance; they are two sides of the same coin: while social control defines deviance, the latter activates the former, and on occasions, forces it to re-define what deviance is. In view of this inextricable connection between social control and deviance, the second principal question that is dealt with in this thesis relates to an empirical exploration and examination of deviance in a sample of sixty British-born Pakistani boys who attended the Pilrig mosque-school in Edinburgh. These boys are referred to as the "Pilrig boys". In this study, deviance is defined as a sociological category: violation of the fundamental norms of Edinburgh's Pakistani community that are applicable to the behaviour of young people. In the light of both quantitative and qualitative ethnographic data, a four-fold typology of the Pilrig boys is constructed: conformists, accommodationists, part-time conformists and rebels. This typology is indicative of a continuum of deviance among the Pilrig boys - from the least to the most deviant.

In order to explain deviance among the Pilrig boys, Travis Hirschi's (1969) social control theory is used as an analytic framework. According to Hirschi, a person is more likely to violate the rules of society (or community) when his or her social bond to the conventional order of society is weak or broken. Each of the four elements of the social bond - attachment, commitment, involvement and belief - are operationalised in the social and cultural context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. The data collected through the use of a questionnaire is then analysed statistically. The results of this analysis generally show a negative relationship between the degree of the strength of the social bond and the extent of deviance among the Pilrig boys. It is concluded that boys who were less attached to parents and teachers, who were less committed to conventional lines of action, who participated less in school and community-related activities, and who believed to a lesser extent in the validity of the moral values of their community and the wider society strongly tended to belong to deviant categories in the Pilrig sample. These results generally support the basic assumptions of social control theory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would not have been possible for me to travel thousands of miles from Afghanistan to Scotland and to afford to study at the University of Edinburgh without the help of a number of individuals and institutions. First of all, I am very grateful to my elder brother, Dr. Abdul Wali Wardak, who helped me in the procedural processes of getting admission at the University of Edinburgh and travelling to Scotland. I am also very grateful to my parents and to my younger brother, engineer Abdul Basir Wardak, who through many difficult days, gave me the strong moral support necessary for me to continue in my search for knowledge.

I was very privileged to have been given a scholarship by The Hugh Pilkington Charitable Trust for my doctoral studies. I particularly offer my most sincere gratitude and thanks to Mr. Roger Northcott, Mr. Robin Shawyer, Mr. Jim Richardson, trustees of the Hugh Pilkington Charitable Trust, and to their families for their kindness and support throughout the process of my research. I also sincerely thank Mr. Peter Bell, Mrs. Patricia Bell, Claire Bell and Susan Bell for their hospitality and friendship.

I have been very fortunate to be taught and supervised by distinguished scholars and academics and to have worked in the intellectually stimulating environment of the Centre for Criminology and the Social and Philosophical Study of Law, The University of Edinburgh. I am especially very grateful to my supervisors Dr. Peter Young and the late Professor Frederick McClintock for their scholarly and invaluable supervision of my thesis. Dr. Peter Young particularly has been very kind in giving me maximum academic, social, and moral support in the various phases of my research. I express my deep gratitude to him and to his family. I also sincerely thank Dr. James Shypticky for his supervision of my thesis while it was in its last stages of completion.

Mr. Abdul Majothi, my colleague and great friend, deserves special thanks and my highest respects go to him; without his help and support this thesis would have never been in its present form. I also offer my sincere thanks to Ms. Beth Egan who helped me in the most crucial stages of the completion of this work. I would also like to acknowledge the helpful contribution of Dr. Malory and Alexandra Nye to my research; their friendship has been a rich source of intellectual and moral support throughout the process of this research.

There have been many other individuals who have given me academic, technical and other forms of advice and help. My sincere thanks are due to Dr. Bob Hodgart, Mr. Tom McGlew, Professor David Garland, Professor Neil MacCormick, Professor Colin Bell, Miss Frances Provan, Mr. Alec Robertson, Dr. Francis and Debbie Watkins. I very sincerely thank all these individuals for whom I have great respect.

I am wholeheartedly grateful to all members of Edinburgh's Pakistani community and to the leaders of Pakistan Association, particularly, Mr. Yousaf Inait, Mr. Khalid Meir, and Mr. Mohammed Aslam, as well as to Hafiz Sahib Abdul Ghafoor, the *Imam* of the Pilrig mosque. My sincere thanks are also due to Mr. M. Ishaq Khan of Edinburgh's Pakistan Society . Finally I express my deeply felt gratitude and respect to the Pilrig boys without whose co-operation and friendship this research would have never been accomplished. I hope that this study will be of some interest and benefit to the young Pilrig boys, to their parents and to Edinburgh's Pakistani community. I also hope that the study will be a modest source of insights for members of the wider Scottish Society into the fears, problems, and hopes of the British-born Pakistanis - the new Scotsmen - and the Pakistani community in Edinburgh.

A. A. W.

CONTENTS

Declaration	
Abstract	
Acknowledgement	i
General Introduction	1
PART ONE: Social Control	
Introduction:	8
Chapter I: Migration, Exclusion and The Making Of a "Closed" Community.	
Introduction:	18
I Migration to Britain	19
A Brief History Of Migration From The Indian Sub-Continent To Scotland	21
The Pakistani Population Of Scotland	27
The Edinburgh Picture	30
II Exclusion	18
The Past	18
The Present	37
Employment	37
Housing	40
Sports and Social/Cultural Entertainments	42
Political and Social Institutional Life of British Society	44
Racial Harassment	46

III The Making of a "Closed" Community	50
The Concept of Community	50
National Level	52
Local Level	53
Kinship Level	54
Edinburgh's Pakistani Community: a "Closed" Community	56

Chapter II: The Family and the *Biraderi*

Introduction	64
A: The Family	65
The Structure and Functions of the Punjabi Family in Pakistan	65
The Pakistani family in Edinburgh	69
Socialisation: A Process of Social Bonding	70
Parental Authority and Social Control	75
B: The <i>Biraderi</i>: A Social Network of Kinship/Friendship Relationships	78
The Concept and Forms of the <i>Biraderi</i>	78
Caste and the <i>Biraderi</i> in Edinburgh	79
<i>Lina Dina</i> , Mutual Obligations, and Social Bonding	81
<i>Izzet</i> and Social Control	89

Chapter III: The Mosque And Pakistan Association, Edinburgh And East Of Scotland

Introduction	95
A: The Mosque	96
The Institutionalisation of Islam in Edinburgh	96
The Pilgrim Mosque/Community Centre	99
<i>Sabaq</i> : Socialisation towards Islamic Belief and Rituals	101
The Concept of <i>Sabaq</i>	101
The Social Organisation and Content of the <i>Sabaq</i> -Class	102

Congregational Worship, The Sense of Community and Social Control	107
The Jom'a Prayer: A Periodic Renewal Of Commitment To	
Shared Morality	107
<i>Eid-ul-Fiter</i> : Sharing Hardship and Happiness.	112
B: Pakistan Association, Edinburgh, And East Of Scotland	116
Organisational Structure, Functions and Aims	116
Power, Authority and Social Control	121

PART TWO: Deviance

Introduction	127
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Chapter IV: The Pilrig Boys And Deviance

Introduction	130
A: The Pilrig Boys	132
The Boys and Their Parents	132
Place Of Birth	132
Age	133
Family Structure And Parents	134
Parent's Ability to Read and Write	134
Parent's Level of Education	135
Parent's Occupation	137
The Pilrig Boys In The Wider Society	138
The School	138
"Best Friends"	140
Television	141
Influence Of The Wider Society	143
The English Language	144
Attitudes Towards Pakistani Women's Clothes	145
"Having Girlfriends"	147
Arranged Marriage	149
The Climate Of Race Relations	152
Identification: British or Pakistani?	154

B: Deviance	157
The Social Context Of Deviance In The Pilrig Sample	159
A Typology Of The Pilrig Boys	165
1. Conformists	166
2. Accommodationists	167
3. Part-time Conformists	169
4. Rebels	170
Age And Deviance	172

Chapter V: Attachment

Introduction	176
Attachment	178
Attachment To Parents	179
Intimacy Of Communication With Parents	180
Parents' <i>Nasihah</i> (Advice)	183
Affection To Parents	186
Parental Supervision And Discipline	190
Parental Supervision	192
Parental Discipline	197
Attachment To The School	203
Liking The School	204
Attendance Of The School	208
Attachment To Friends	211
Delinquent Friends	217

Chapter VI: Commitment, Involvement, And Belief

Introduction	222
Commitment	224
Commitment And Education	227
Commitment And Family <i>Izzet</i> (Honour)	231

Involvement	234
Involvement In School-Related Activities	237
Involvement In Mosque/Community-Related Activities	240
Belief	244
The Normative Context Of Belief In The Present Study	247
Belief And Islamic Teachings	248
Belief And The Moral Values Of Society	251
Summaries And Conclusions	256
Appendix I:	
Social Control Theory And Its Place In Contemporary Criminological Theory	272
Appendix II:	
The Questionnaire, The Scoring Sheet, and Coding Index ...	293
Appendix III:	
Methodology	314
Appendix IV:	
Self-Reported Delinquency Data	327
Bibliography	331

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Tables No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
TABLE 1	1991 Census: Resident Ethnic Population-Great Britain	20
TABLE 2	1991 Census: Resident Ethnic Population-Scotland	28
TABLE 3	1991 Census: The Distribution Of Pakistani Population In The Various Regions Of Scotland	29
TABLE 4	Place Of Birth Of The Pilrig Boys	132
TABLE 5	Age Groups Of The Pilrig Boys	133
TABLE 6	Parents' Ability To Read And Write	135
TABLE 7	Parents' Level Of Education	136
TABLE 8	Parents' Occupation	137
TABLE 9	The Pilrig Boys' "Best" Friend	140
TABLE 10	The Pilrig Boys' Ability To Speak The English Language	144
TABLE 11	The Pilrig Boys' Attitudes Towards Wearing Of Western Clothes By Pakistani Women	146
TABLE 12	The Pilrig Boys' Attitudes Towards The Idea Of Having Girlfriends	148
TABLE 13	The Pilrig Boys' Attitudes Towards Arranged Marriage	151
TABLE 14	Frequency Of Experiencing (Racial) Bad Treatment	153
TABLE 15	Frequency Of Feeling Proud As Pakistanis In This Country	155
TABLE 16a	Categorisation Of The Pilrig Boys According To The Frequency Of Breaking The Norms Of Mosque-School	163
TABLE 16b	Categorisation Of The Pilrig Boys According To The Frequency Of Breaking Norms Of The Pakistani Community	164
TABLE 17	Relationship Between Age And The Four Types In The Pilrig Sample	172
TABLE 18	Relationship Between Intimacy Of Communication With Mother And The Level Of Deviance	181
TABLE 19	Relationship Between Intimacy Of Communication With Father And The Level Of Deviance	182
TABLE 20	Relationship Between Mother's Advice And The Level Of Deviance	184
TABLE 21	Relationship Between Father's Advice And The Level of Deviance	185

TABLE 22	Relationship Between Feeling Of Closeness To Mother And The Level Of Deviance	187
TABLE 23	Relationship Between Positive Identification With Father And The Level Of Deviance	188
TABLE 24	Relationships Between Fathers' Supervision (Knowledge Of Child's Whereabouts) And The Level Of Deviance	193
TABLE 25	Relationships Between Mothers' Supervision (Knowledge Of Child's Whereabouts) And The Level Of Deviance	193
TABLE 26	Relationships Between Fathers' Supervision (Knowledge Of Child's Company) And The Level Of Deviance	195
TABLE 27	Relationships Between Mothers' Supervision (Knowledge Of Child's Company) And The Level Of Deviance	196
TABLE 28	Relationship Between Fathers' Discipline And The Level Of Deviance	198
TABLE 29	Relationship Between Mothers' Discipline And The Level Of Deviance	199
TABLE 30	Relationships Between Perception Of Fathers' Discipline And The Level Of Deviance	201
TABLE 31	Relationships Between Mothers' Discipline And The Level Of Deviance	201
TABLE 32	Relationship Between Liking The Local School And The Level Of Deviance	204
TABLE 33	Relationship Between Liking The Mosque-School And The Level Of Deviance	205
TABLE 34	Relationship Between Caring About Teachers' Opinions And The Level Of Deviance (Local School)	206
TABLE 35	Relationship Between Caring About Teachers' Opinions And The Level Of Deviance (Mosque-School)	206
TABLE 36	Relationship Between Regularity Of The Local School Attendance And The Level Of Deviance	209
TABLE 37	Relationship Between Regularity Of The Mosque-School Attendance And The Level Of Deviance	209
TABLE 38	Relationship Between Importance Of Friends And The Level Of Deviance	214
TABLE 39	Relationship Between Respect For Best Friends' Opinions And The Level Of Deviance	215
TABLE 40	Relationship Between Identification With Best Friends And The Level Of Deviance	216

TABLE 41	Relationship Between Number Of Friends Who Had Trouble With The Police And The Level Of Deviance	218
TABLE 42	Relationship Between Number of Friends Suspended From School And The Level Of Deviance	219
TABLE 43	Relationship Between Marks In School And The Level Of Deviance	228
TABLE 44	Relationship Between Aspiration For Higher/Professional Education And The Level Of Deviance	230
TABLE 45	Relationship Between Importance Of Family <i>Izzet</i> (Honour) And The Level of Deviance	233
TABLE 46	Relationship Between Time Spent On Homework And The Level Of Deviance	238
TABLE 47	Relationship Between Participation In Mosque/Community-Related Activities And The Level of Deviance	241
TABLE 48	Relationship Between The Feeling Of "Nothing To Do" And The Level Of Deviance	242
TABLE 49	Relationship Between The Extent Of Following Islamic Teachings And The Level Of Deviance	250
TABLE 50	Relationship Between The Extent Of Agreement With "One Must Be Honest With All People" And The Level Of Deviance	252
TABLE 51	Relationship Between Feeling Of Guilt And The Level Of Deviance	253

General Introduction

Scotland has been home for relatively large Asian populations after the end of World War Two. Since the late 1950s, increasingly stable Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Hindu, Sikh, and Chinese (including those from Hong Kong) communities have emerged in the major Scottish cities and towns. These Asian communities that form the bulk of Scottish ethnic minority population are a clearly visible feature of the Scottish society, particularly of its urban life. Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi and Chinese shops and retail stores, restaurants, and other businesses vigorously contribute to the commercial and economic life of Scotland; the relatively recent emergence of mosques, temples and gurdwaras, and the quietly developing Asian arts including music, dance and fashion, enrich the social and cultural life of the Scottish Society.

Among the Scottish ethnic minority populations, Pakistanis who are predominantly Muslims (about 98%) are the largest ethnic minority group (33% of the total Scottish minority population) in the country. The Scottish Pakistani community as a whole, and its various branches in different Scottish cities and towns have developed their own cultural, religious, economic and political institutions that structure various aspects of their members' lives. These communities, which are gradually emerging as small-scale societies within the wider Scottish society, have recently become the subject of increasing interest and debates among politicians, policy-makers, academics and the general public. Recent events, such as the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*, the establishment of "The Muslim Parliament of Great Britain" and the increase of racial violence against members of ethnic communities, particularly against Pakistanis, have further stimulated the debate. But despite all this the Scottish Pakistani/Muslim community is the least researched and therefore (I believe) the least understood.

The existing small body of research on Scotland's Pakistani population mainly relates to their history of migration and to their experiences of racial discrimination and exclusion. Much of the research that I will refer to in Chapter I discusses Scottish Pakistanis under the general categories of "Asians", "South Asians" and "people from the Indian sub-continent". Studies that more specifically focus on Scotland's Pakistanis include occasional surveys by the Scottish Office, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and a few studies by Scottish Universities. However, this research, by and large, relates to the areas of housing, employment, education and racial violence. Interestingly, the only relatively credible research that focuses on

Pakistani communities in Scotland are three small studies. They include an MA dissertation on the Pakistani community in Glasgow by Elahi (1967); a paper on a Pakistani community in Dundee by Jones and Davenport (1972); and another study on the aspects of the Asian community (mainly Pakistani) in Glasgow by Strivastava (1975). However, none of these studies involve an in-depth analysis of the social organisation and social institutional structures of the Pakistani communities in Scotland. As far as the study of social control or deviance is concerned, there is no single study on these subjects in Scotland and in the United Kingdom as a whole. This is confirmed by the most recent Social Sciences Citation Index (S.S.C.I). All this clearly points to a gap in the existing body of knowledge about the social institutional structures of the Scottish Pakistani communities, their social and normative orders, and the way(s) such orders are maintained. The present study of "Social Control and Deviance in Edinburgh's Pakistani Community" is a small step in the direction of filling the existing gap.

As its title suggests, this thesis is divided into two main parts: Social Control (Part One) and Deviance (Part Two). Part one deals with the historical development of the Pakistani community in Scotland, its social organisation and the way(s) its various social institutions operate as agencies of social control. In Part One, the analysis of the various processes and mechanisms of social control is preceded by a general introductory chapter that provides a structural framework for the thesis. This chapter, after describing the historical and demographic background of the Pakistani community in Scotland with a special focus on Edinburgh, examines the reaction of the wider Scottish society to the presence of the South-Asian migrants since their arrival in Scotland. The extent of discrimination against these "coloured" migrants, and their exclusion from the social, cultural and political life of the wider society is examined in the light of empirical evidence. The central questions that follow from this discussion are: what are the implications of these exclusionary practices for the Pakistani population of Edinburgh? And what are the social responses of Edinburgh's Pakistanis to the exclusion and discrimination that they experience in the host society?

After attempting to answer the first question, the concept of "community" is examined from a theoretical point of view. It is asserted that Edinburgh's Pakistani population see themselves as members of a Pakistani community on three different levels: sometimes, they identify themselves with the wider Pakistani/Muslim community, on a national level; on other occasions they identify with and refer to the local Pakistani community as "us" on an intermediate local city or town level;

occasionally Pakistanis in Edinburgh more closely relate to each other as a community on a narrower kinship or *Biraderi* level. Thus the phrase "Edinburgh's Pakistani community", in this thesis, may refer to any or all of these three levels depending on the context of analysis. However, it is used to refer more directly and frequently to the level of community that is between the local level (all Pakistanis in Edinburgh) and the narrower level of *Biraderi*. It refers to the participants and also to the institutional arrangements of the Pilrig Mosque and Community Centre, where the majority of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents socially interact, exhibit a sense of community and social belonging, and have common social bonds (See Part III, Chapter I). Following this definition, a strong reactive element in the development of this particular community is emphasised. This analysis that describes Edinburgh's Pakistani community as a "closed" community deals with the second of the two questions, which were raised.

Discussion of the historical and demographic background of Edinburgh's Pakistani community and the social processes that have led to its development into a relatively stable and cohesive social group raises a central question: how is this community socially organised, and how is its social order produced and maintained?

The question of the maintenance of order is essentially a question of social control. Thus, in the light of the intellectual history of the notion of social control, it is operationally defined in the context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community as the extent to which the community's social institutions promote order and regulate behaviour through the social bonding of members to its moral and social order.

To try to answer the central question about social order and its maintenance in the community, Chapters II and III examine the fundamental social institutions of Edinburgh's Pakistani community and the ways they operate as agencies of social control. These social institutions or agencies of social control are: The Family, The *Biraderi* (social network of Kinship/friendship relationship), The Mosque, and The Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and The East of Scotland (P.A.E.E.S.).

In Chapter II the Pakistani family in Edinburgh, particularly, its major mechanisms of social control form the main focus of discussion. This discussion examines the socialisation process of the British-born Pakistani children and its role in these children's social bonding to the moral and social order of the community. The discussion is further extended to the relationships between "parental authority" and the socialisation process. The main question that is asked is: how do the two

separately and conjointly operate as mechanisms of social control within the Pakistani family in Edinburgh?

Just as the Pakistani family provides a fundamental social framework for close relationships among parents, children and some other close relatives, the *Biraderi* constitutes such a framework for social relationships among kin and friends on a broader level. Thus, the process of the social bonding of members of the community to its social and moral order is further examined in the context of the *Biraderi*. *Lina Dina* (taking and giving), or a form of institutionalised reciprocity among kin and friends that creates and recreates mutual moral and social obligations among both donors and recipients, constitutes the central theme of discussion. It is argued that it is within the communitarian social structure of the *Biraderi* where members are interdependent and have obligations to one another that *Izzet* and *Bizati* (Honour and Dishonour) operate as important mechanisms of social control. The main point of analysis in this context is why and how do *Izzet* and *Bizati* operate as effective mechanisms of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community?

The processes of the social bonding of the community's members within the family and the *Biraderi* further extends and finds practical expressions in the mosque and in the P.A.E.E.S. The context of such processes in the mosque is basically moral and spiritual where religious education/preaching and collective worship operate as major mechanisms of social bonding of the members to a shared and sacred moral order. *Sabaq* (Mosque-based Islamic education) and its role in the socialisation of the British-born Pakistani children to the Islamic belief system and rituals forms the focus of discussion. The main point of analysis is the implication of this religious socialisation of the young Pakistanis for their active participation in the collective worship, ceremonies and rituals of the community. At this point the discussion extends to the collective expression of shared Islamic beliefs in the congregational prayers of *Jom'a* (Friday) and *Eid* (Islamic festival that marks the first day after the fasting month of Ramadan). The main question that is examined is: how and to what extent do congregational worship and its related rituals lead to the creation of a sense of a moral community among members, and what are the implications of this for social control?

The P.A.E.E.S., which is responsible for the general organisation of the social, cultural, educational and religious activities within Edinburgh's Pakistani community, and which represents the latter to the outside world is the fourth social institution that is examined as an agency of social control; it is viewed, in the present

study, as a semi - formal agency of social control of the community. The organisational structure of the P.A.E.E.S. and its leaders' bases of power are descriptively examined. The main question concerning social control that is examined is: what are the main spheres of the exercise of authority by the leaders of the P.A.E.E.S., and what are its limits?

What has been so far said constitutes a general introduction to the first part of the thesis - social control - in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. The following pages form a general introduction to the second part of this thesis – deviance. The two parts of the thesis are as closely connected to each other as social control and deviance are. Social control and deviance are considered two fundamental aspects of social organisation: social control defines what deviance is, and specifies how it should be dealt with (see Black 1976 : 105). In the context of the present study, the family, the mosque, the *Biraderi* and the P.A.E.E.S. define what is "right" and what is "wrong"; what is "morality" and what is "immorality", what is "normality" and what is "deviance"; and what behaviour is to be sanctioned positively (rewarded) and what negatively (punished).

Thus the second part of the thesis examines what the community's agencies of social control define as deviance. Deviance (as a sociological category) is examined in a sample of sixty British-born Pakistani boys who regularly attended their *sabaq*-classes in a Mosque/community centre that is situated on Pilrig Street, in the Leith area of Edinburgh (I shall refer to these boys as "The Pilrig boys", or "The Pilrig sample" throughout this thesis). The bulk of this part of the thesis deals with the theoretical and empirical examination of deviance in the Pilrig sample. However, prior to the theoretical and empirical analysis of deviance in Chapters V and VI, Chapter IV gives a general introductory and descriptive account of the Pilrig boys and their deviance. Following a description of the general "sample characteristics", the main question that is examined is: what is deviance in the social and normative context of the present study?

After the examination of deviance from a theoretical point of view, it is defined as violation of the social norms of Edinburgh's Pakistani community by its members. In the context of the Pilrig sample, deviance and its various degrees are determined on the basis of the frequency of violation of seven fundamental norms of the mosque-school and the Pakistani community that are applicable to the behaviour of young people. Analysis of the quantitative data about the frequency of violation of these norms by individual boys has led to the emergence of a continuum of four degrees of

deviance in the Pilrig sample – from the least to the most deviant boys. In the light of ethnographic data about every individual boy in each of the four categories, the continuum is further developed into a four-fold typology of the Pilrig boys: conformists, accommodationists, part-time conformists, and rebels. Although individuals in each of the four categories deviated to various degrees from the norms/rules of the mosque-school and the community, it is argued that boys in the first two categories are considered in the Pakistani community of Edinburgh as "non-deviants"; boys in the last two are considered as "deviants". This typology is further supported by the results of self-reported delinquency data. These results that are based on data collected by the use of a self-reported delinquency scale show strong positive correlations between the frequency of "breaking windows/damaging property", "leaving a cafe without paying", "theft of more than £5" and the level of deviance in the Pilrig sample. There are weak positive correlations between the frequency of "using force or its threat for getting money or other valuables" and of "participation in group fight" and the level of deviance. However, the frequency of "knocking someone down on purpose" is not correlated with the degree of deviance among the Pilrig boys (see Appendix IV).

In order to explain deviance in the Pilrig sample of deviant and non-deviant boys, Hirschi's (1969) version of social control theory is used as a theoretical framework for the present study. According to this theory an individual is more likely to get involved in crime and deviance when his/her social bond to the conventional order of society/community is weak or broken. Social bond, Hirschi argues, consists of four fundamental elements. They are: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. The central hypothesis is that the less attached, committed, involved and believing individual is more likely to break the rules and norms of the society/community (for a discussion of the major assumptions of social control theory and its place in contemporary criminological theory, see Appendix I).

Thus, Chapter V deals with the empirical examination of attachment that is defined as an individual's emotional involvement in (significant) others and therefore sensitivity to their feelings, wishes and expectations. The main question that is examined is : is attachment to parents, teachers and (conventional) friends related to deviance in the Pilrig sample? In addition, relationships between various forms of parental supervision and discipline ("too strict", "moderate", "neglectful") and deviance in the Pilrig sample are analysed in this chapter.

Chapter VI deals with the empirical examination of relationships between the other three elements of the social bond – Commitment, Involvement, Belief – and deviance among the sixty Pilrig boys. Commitment is defined as an individual's investment in conventional behaviour. Thus, the following question is the focus of analysis in this context: are scholastic performance, family *izzet* (honour), and aspirations for higher/professional education related to deviance among the Pilrig Boys?

Involvement is defined as an individual's participation in conventional activities - the extent of an individual's engrossment in doing legitimate activities so that he/she has no opportunity for committing criminal/deviant acts. The question that is examined in the second part of Chapter VI is: do spending time on homework, participation in school-related and in the mosque/community-related activities, and the "feeling of nothing to do" have any relationship with deviance among the Pilrig Boys?

Belief, which is understood as the individual's sense of the moral validity of society/community's norms, and its links with deviance in the Pilrig sample is the subject of analysis in the last part of this chapter. The main question that is examined is: do belief in Islamic teachings, in the moral values of society, and feeling of guilt (after behaving dishonestly) control deviance among the Pilrig Boys?

The relationships between each of the four elements of the social bond are then statistically examined. The statistical results of the quantitative data are, in many cases, complemented by and interpreted in the light of qualitative data.

Finally, the major findings of both parts of the thesis are summarised and concluded. The interconnections between the various institutional mechanisms of social control within Edinburgh's Pakistani community are explored and illustrated. These illustrations show that certain mechanisms of social control play more central part in maintaining the social and normative order of Edinburgh's Pakistani community than others. Likewise the relative strength of relationships between the various indices of the four elements of the social bond and deviance in the Pilrig sample are illustrated and compared. The comparisons reveal that certain social control variables are more effective in controlling deviance among the Pilrig boys than others. The overall conclusion of the thesis clearly suggest that social control and social deviance are inextricably interlinked as two fundamental aspects of the social organisation of Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

PART ONE

SOCIAL CONTROL

Introduction

This introduction examines a general intellectual history and theoretical background of the notion of social control. It will focus mainly on the contributions of macro-sociology and social psychology to the general theory of social control, that has dominated the debate over the subject for more than one hundred years.

Although the notion of "social control", as a sociological concept on its own right, entered sociological theory only about the turn of the century, it had been central to the thinking of most "classical" sociologists, in an indirect way. Most 19th century sociologists when discussing "social order" – the most central problem of sociology – also discussed its maintenance. These sociologists, in attempting to explain how patterns of social relationships developed and formed the whole (society), at the same time also gave detailed explanations of how the whole was maintained (social control). Maine's "Status and Contract" (1861), Tonnies' "Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft" (1887) and Durkheim's "Mechanical and Organic Solidarity" (1893) [1893]) offer a few examples.

It was after the publication of Edward Alswarth Ross's *Social Control* in 1901 that, the notion and concept of social control directly entered sociological theory and became one of sociology's central themes. The question that Ross endeavoured to answer was not different, in essence, from that of mainstream classical sociology's – the possibility of society and its orderly functioning. Ross (1901 : 3) wondered how men and women "are brought to live closely together and associate their efforts with that degree of harmony that we see about us".

For Ross this was possible through "social control", that he described as "Intended social ascendancy". "Social ascendancy" refers the various processes and mechanisms whereby society attains a super-ordinate position over the individual and moulds his/her feelings, desires and attitudes in accordance to its conventional rules and expectations. Ross (1901:320) gave detailed descriptions of the various means of social control that he also called "Engines of Social control". According to Ross the principal means of social control are : "Public Opinion", "Law", "Belief", "Social Suggestion", "Education", "Custom", "Social Religion", "Personality", "Ideals", "Ceremony", "Art", "Enlightenment", "Illusion", "Social Evaluations", and certain "Ethical" elements. Most of these "engines of social control" that are externally exercised over the individual contain strong elements of coercion.

Although Ross's list indicates that coercion is only one possibility, but the rest of his other "means" of social control are also "external" to the individual. Normative considerations, persuasion, suggestion, social and psychological manipulation or actual force and coercion are all forms of "external control"; they are designed to subject the individual to society's conventional norms/rules. "Self-Control" or "Internal Control" mechanisms have only a marginal place in Ross's work. Ross concedes that social control is more effective when it is "diffused" and takes place spontaneously from within the individual. But, he does not explain how the mechanism of "internal control" operates.

It appears that the centrality of "social ascendancy" in Ross's theory of social control is based on his basic assumption about human nature. Ross (1901 : 5) says that, "It is a common delusion that order is to be explained by the person's inherited equipment for good conduct, rather than by any control that society exercised over him". Ross, implies that human nature is constituted by the individual's (selfish) complex of drives and impulses. In order to insure a degree of harmony and order among the conflicting desires and impulses of individuals in society, the latter has to control them (mainly) externally.

In the last part of his classic work, *social control*, Ross explains that how the various "means" in his broad list of social control mechanisms can be linked to what he refers to as a "system of social control". For Ross, the various means of social control complement each other. He defends the broadness of his list as sufficiently varied and elastic to suit different situations and differed social groups. This moreover, Ross asserts, can explain the degree of social control, in terms of "more" or "less", "strong" or "weak" and "rigid" or "elastic", in various societies.

Ross's interest in "external control" to regulate and mould the individual's desires and feelings according to society's expectations and rules was also shared by his contemporary, the prominent sociologist William Graham Sumner. Five years after the publication of Ross's *Social Control*, Sumner in his famous work *Folkways* (1906 : 111-IV) asserted that "Folkways are habits and customs of the society, . . . Then they become regulative and imperative for succeeding generations, . . . While they are in vigour, they very largely control individual and social undertakings". Sumner maintains that all social norms exercise coercive power over the individual and control his/her conduct. He further explains that their degree of coercion varies according to the degree of the centrality of the various forms of these norms to the

orderly functioning and well-being of the community/society. For example the relatively peripheral norms that Sumner calls "Folkways" encounter only mild sanctions for their non-observance. But "Mores" that are relatively more central to the well-being of community/society are enforced by more stringent sanctions when they are infringed. Finally, core societal "values" and beliefs that are the most central for the well-being and even survival of society invoke the most severe sanctions when violated. Sumner adds that it is because of the vital importance of societal core values/beliefs for the well-being of society that most of them often become formal legal norms - laws.

Sumner, like Ross, views social control as society's regulative mechanism "external" to the individual and largely controlling conduct from without. However, unlike Ross, Sumner argues that society's social control mechanisms are not intentionally designed to control the individual's conduct – social norms emerge naturally out of the needs of social groups for their social functioning and survival; even most legal norms, he argues, first emerge as social norms, outside the domain of the state.

Other prominent social theorists and philosophers have placed even stronger emphasis than Ross and Sumner on the regulative mechanisms of social control from without (external social control) in particular Roscoe Pound. For Pound the individual's conduct is primarily and largely regulated by society's controls and constraints so that it suits the needs and expectations of the social order:

"The pressure upon each man brought to bear by his fellowmen in order to constrain him to do his part upholding civilised society and to deter him from anti-social conduct, that is, conduct at variance with the postulates of social order". (Pound 1942 : 17-18)

Pound's use of the legally-oriented terminology not only implies that social control is basically legal control, but he explicitly states in his influential work, *Social Control Through Law*, (1942 : 20-25) that: "In the modern world, law has become the paramount agency of social control. . . . Social control is primarily the function of the state".

Despite the fact that Pound's assertion has been criticised as an exaggeration by many legal anthropologists and sociologists of law, his work has greatly influenced modern legal theory and jurisprudence. This is not the place to go into the controversy over

this subject, it is sufficient to say that social control, for Pound, is mainly "External Control".

The works of Pound, Sumner and Ross and their emphasis on external social control mechanisms to regulate individual and social undertakings and to maintain social order have greatly influenced the modern sociology of social control. However, they failed to explain how "External Controls" were incorporated into the individual's personality; how individual conduct comes to be (to a significant extent) controlled from within through "internal control" mechanisms. These scholars' fundamental assumptions about the superordinating role of society over the individual are criticised as "one-sided" and deficient.

The macro-sociology of social control of Ross, Sumner and Pound was particularly criticised after the popularity of the works of Charles Harton Cooley and George Herbert Mead – the two founding fathers of modern social psychology. Cooley and Mead both rejected the idea of separation between the individual and society, and therefore the "social ascendancy" of the latter over the former. Mead profoundly shared Cooley's view (1909 : 350) that "individual and society were twin-born". Known as "social interactionists", Cooley and Mead believed that the individual and society continuously interacted in a two-way-relationships. In the process of their social interaction the individual projects himself/herself to the surrounding social environment, affecting those in the very process of projection who, at the same time, effect him/her. The two are involved in a process of reciprocal relationships that spontaneously produces and reproduces social order and, at the same time maintains it. More importantly, this process may also involve revolt against some existing social norms. Thus, social control for Cooley and Mead does not only involve processes that both produce and maintains social order but the same processes move the vehicle of social change

Cooley's three influential works, *Human Nature and Social Order* (1902), *Social Organisation* (1909), and *Social Process* (1918) emerged after Ross's *Social Control* (1901). In none of these three books did Cooley directly formulate a theory of "social control" or even much use the term. However, he indirectly addressed the question of how internalisation of society's values and norms by its individual members resulted in the maintenance of social order.

The most central to Cooley's view of social control is his concept of "social self" to which he also referred as "social feelings" or "looking-glass self". For Cooley the

"looking-glass self" develops in three phases the individual's social interaction with society: the first phase involves the individual's appearance to other persons in his/her surrounding social environment such as the family, the peer-group and, in a general vague sense, to the whole society. In the second phase the other persons judge the individual's appearance - approval or disapproval, admiration or contempt, like or dislike etc. In the third phase the individual takes on the judgements of the other persons and develops a feeling about his/her "looking-glass self". It is through the development of the individuals' looking-glass or social selves that they place themselves in each others' minds and enter a state that Cooley (1902 : 102) calls "communion". Thus, living in each other's mind, so to speak, operates as a powerful mechanism of "internal control" over the conduct of the individual in society. The most suitable social contexts for the development of Cooley's "Social Self" are what he calls "primary groups" – individuals' familiar associations i.e. the family, peer group, neighbourhood:

"The ideal that grows up in a familiar situation may be said to be part of human nature itself. In the most general form it is that part of a moral whole or community wherein individual minds are merged and the higher capacities of the members find total and adequate expression. And it grows up because familiar associations fill our minds with imaginations of the thoughts and feelings of other members of the group, and the group as a whole, so that, for many purposes, we really make them a part of ourselves and identify our self-feeling with them" (Cooley 1909 : 23).

Thus, according to Cooley's theory, social control operates spontaneously from within the individual; He explains a social-psychological process that operates as an inexpensive but powerful mechanism of social control.

Cooley's view of social control as an internal social-psychological mechanism that operates in the process of the individual's social interaction with the society is profoundly shared by George Herbert Mead (1925; 1934). For Mead the "self" developed in two phases of the individual's social interaction with the community/society. These two phases are identified as the "I" and the "Me". The "Me" represents what Mead called the attitude of the "Generalised Other" – of other persons in the community/society. The "I" represents the response of the individual to the attitudes of the "Generalised Other". "Self" emerges in the process of the "fusion" between the "I": and the "Me" that in turn results in the entrance of the community into the individual's "mind". This process produces and reproduces the social order and operates as an important mechanism of social control:

"It is in the form of the generalised other that the social process influences the behaviour of the individuals involved in it and carrying it on, i.e., that the community exercises control over the conduct of its individual members; for it is in this form that the social process or the community enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking". (Mead 1934 : 155)

Mead implies that the community places itself as a determining factor only in "the individual's thinking"; but it does not necessarily, determine his/her behaviour in an intended direction. That is the individual does not take the attitude of the "generalised other" for granted. The "reflexiveness" that the "me" and the "I" brings to the emergence of the "self" requires that before the individual takes on the attitude of the "generalised other" (the community/society), he/she examines and judges it. Then the individual's response comes as an "I" that is both "object" and "subject", at once, affected by the community, and affecting it, at the same time. Thus far from being shaped and conditioned by the attitude of the "generalised other", the individual and the society are both actively involved in producing and in maintaining the social order. More importantly, the "individuality" of the individual is a fundamental aspect of the process of social control, as nicely put by Mead:

"Social control, so far from tending to crash out the human individual or obliterate his self-conscious individuality, is, on the contrary, constitutive of and inextricably associated with that individuality; for the individual is what he is, as a conscious and individual personality, just as he is a member of society, involved in the social process of experience and activity, and thereby socially controlled by it". (Mead 1934 : 255)

What has been so far been said about the general theory of social control, clearly indicates that, unlike Ross, Sumner, Pound and their followers, who defined social control as the super ordination of society over the individual, for Mead and Cooley it is a two-way relationship: a reciprocal relationship between the individual and society in the process of which the two actively create the social order and simultaneously develop mechanisms for maintaining it. Mead places even more emphasis than does Cooley over the creative and active role of the individual in the process of his/her social interaction with society. Mead's theory of the "self" is, in fact, a refinement of Cooley's formulation of the development of "social self".

While the "internal" mechanisms of social control have been studied by other well known scholar such as Jean Piaget, John Devey, Sigmund Freud and even by Emil

Durkheim, Cooley and Mead's contributions dominate contemporary debate on the subject. However, it must be said that Cooley and Mead largely ignored the elements of inequality and imbalance in the relationship between individuals and the individual and the social order. Development of the "self" in the process of social interaction between individuals and society can not be satisfactorily explained without the considerations of power relationships in this very process. Power may rarely manifest as a factual force in social relationships in modern (or post-modern) society. But it is vigorously at work in political, economic terms, and more importantly through manipulative means. By the latter, I mean the power of propaganda, modern advertisement and of the general mass-media that exercise invisible control over individuals. It is a form of "Latent" control: We may not be aware that our minds are "invaded" and our wills covertly and skilfully manipulated, and, hence, controlled.

What has been said so far shows that despite certain theoretical advancements regarding the concept (and notion) of social control in the past more than a hundred years, problems of its generality and complexity remain unresolved. The overlapping relationship among the forms, kinds, agencies, mechanisms and instruments of social control, and even whether the concept is viewed and studied as an independent, or dependent variable (or both) add to the complexity of and even confusion of the notion. Likewise the multi-dimensional and overlapping relationship between social order and social control make it hard to draw a clear-cut dividing line between the two.

All this has led students of the sociology of social control to acknowledge the complexity of the notion and the lack of a definitive understanding of the concept of social control. One prominent scholar, Stanley Cohen (1985 : 2) commented that the concept of social control has become "something of Mickey Mouse concept". Indeed, social control (both as a concept and a notion) presently is interpreted in different ways in different academic disciplines, and is utilised for a variety of purposes (see Gorwicz 1945; Janovitz 1975; Meir 1982; and Edwards 1988; Krienken 1991).

Nevertheless, empirical research on social control could significantly contribute towards the refinement of the general theory and towards making more clear-cut distinctions among the various overlapping aspects of the notion. Thus, I would suggest that social researchers, in order to reach more concrete conclusions, must bear three fundamental points in mind:

First, the researcher must specify whether he/she studies social control as a dependent variable (as a reaction to deviant behaviour); or as an independent variable (as a kind of influence and the extent to which it has an impact on human behaviour); or both (as a process that basically operates as an influence but is readily reactivated against deviant behaviour should it take place) (see Gibbs 1981 Ch. 6: Black 1984 : 4-6) Second, the various levels of social control-macro, intermediate or micro-must be distinguished. That is whether social control is studied on the level of a society, community, or on a primary group's level (for example, social control in a family). Third, and most importantly, the researcher must specify the social context of and pay considerable attention to the type of social organisation in which he/she studies social control. Since social control is a fundamental aspect of social organisation, it is crucial for the researcher to pay specific attention to the type of organisation in which social control operates. Here we can draw on the work of Amitai Etzioni.

In his influential work, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organisations* (1964) Etzioni categorises social organisations according to their predominant compliance patterns into three fundamental types: "coercive", "utilitarian" and "normative" organisations. In "coercive" organisation, according to Etzioni, the predominant means of social control is factual force or its threat over the subordinate participants. This type of organisation may have different "manifest" aims but their "latent" (and actual) aim is to keep the participants in. Chief examples of coercive organisations are: concentration camps, prisons, correctional institutions and prisoner-of-war camps. An important feature of coercive organisations is the "Behavioural conformity" of participants as opposed to "attitudinal conformity". The second refers to conformity that is based on internal conviction and a sense of moral obligation, whereas the first form is largely insured through the use or threat of force. (see Merton 1959, Rose Laub Coser 1961). Since very little internalisation of norms takes place in a coercive organisational setting the participants (actually inmates) would leave, if they were not constrained.

In "utilitarian" organisations, lower and even middle-ranking participants are predominantly controlled through remuneration, mainly in terms of material rewards. Examples are most capitalist organisations that employ various categories of white-collar, professional and blue-collar workers. The participants predominantly exhibit "attitudinal conformity" to organisational rules/norms; some high-ranking and well-established participants may exhibit "attitudinal conformity"

too. Thus social control in "utilitarian" organisation is largely dependent on the rewards that the lower and middle-ranking participants receive.

In contrast to both "coercive" and "utilitarian" organisations, in "normative" organisations, social control operates mainly through the internalisation of norms and moral/ideological commitment. Religious/cultural organisations, ideologically-oriented political parties, and some voluntary organisations are some examples. Because participants internalise the norms/rules of the organisation, their conformity is "attitudinal" (and behavioural too) that spring from their inner convictions and beliefs.

Despite the fact that there is a degree of overlap between the three types of organisations, and between their corresponding forms of social control the typology provides a very useful framework for empirical research projects, particularly, about the study of a specific form of social control in a specific organisational setting. It guides the researcher to specify the organisational context of social control, its forms, agencies, and mechanisms.

Thus, in the light of Etzioni's typology Edinburgh's Pakistani community is a "normative" organisation; it is basically a cultural/religious community whose participants (or members) are socially bonded to each other by their shared values, traditions and beliefs. Therefore, internalisation of community's values beliefs and norms operates as the predominant (though not the only) form of social control within it; and the main patterns of compliance to the community's norms is "attitudinal". Within this particular organisational setting, agencies of social control and the various mechanisms in each agency, are clearly identifiable.

With this specification of the fundamental aspects of social control, now, it is possible to define social control, operationally within the "normative" organisational context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Social control in this specific community refers to: the extent to which the community's social institutions (or agencies of social control) promote order and regulate behaviour through the social bonding of members/participants to its moral and social order.

The above definition is commensurate with empirical observation. It not only applies to and suits the organisational setting of the community under study on an operational level, it is also both comprehensive and inclusive on theoretical level. The individual's social bonding and the regulation of his/her behaviour may take place in

the process of social interaction, spontaneously resulting in the development of "social self" and "internal social control", as Cooley and Mead argued. At the same time the process of social bonding may be accompanied and/or backed-up by "external controls" including social and psychological manipulation, positive and negative economic, social and religious sanctions and by factual coercion or threat of it, as argued by Ross, Sumner, Pound and other macro sociologists of social control.

Finally it must be mentioned that the concepts of social order and social control in the present study are looked at as two fundamental and closely interrelated aspects of social organisation. Although according to some writer the former refers to the relatively stable and established patterns of social relationships, and the latter to the processes and mechanisms that maintain the established patterns and the whole they form (see Young 1987). However, the two are not separated in the present study as they are inextricably interlinked in Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

After this lengthy but necessary theoretical introduction to the notion of social control, and defining it operationally in the context of the present study, it is now appropriate to examine the ways its various mechanisms contribute to the maintenance of social order in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. This examination will focus on the analysis of the fundamental social institutions of the community - the family, the *Biraderi*, the mosque, the P.A.E.E.S. - in chapters II and III, but first, it is important to look at the historical development of these institutions (or agencies of social control) and the Pakistani community of Edinburgh as a whole in chapter I.

CHAPTER ONE

MIGRATION, EXCLUSION AND THE MAKING OF A "CLOSED" COMMUNITY

Introduction

This chapter consists of three different but closely interrelated parts. In the first part the history of migration from the Indian sub-continent to Scotland and Britain since the late 19th Century up to the present is traced. The large-scale migration from the Indian subcontinent to Great Britain is considered as the legacy of the latter's long colonial rule of the former. Then the size of the Pakistani population alongside other ethnic minority populations in Britain and in Scotland is numerically illustrated. In the light of the 1991 Census for Scotland, the distribution of Pakistani population in the various regions of the country with a special focus on the Lothian Region and Edinburgh city is statistically examined.

The response of the wider Scottish/British society to the presence of migrants from the Indian sub-continent since their arrival to the country is the theme of the second part of the chapter. In the light of documented historical evidence, it is argued that these immigrants were discriminated against and largely excluded from the social, cultural and political life of the wider society. This argument is followed and is supported by more recent empirical evidence: a substantive body of existing research show that ethnic minority populations, particularly Pakistanis, in Scotland and in Britain have been largely excluded from the social, cultural and the political life of the wider society. Employment, housing, sports and social/cultural entertainment, politics and racial harassment are the main areas that are examined.

In the third and last part of the chapter the responses of the Pakistani population to their exclusion from the social, cultural and political life of the wider society is discussed. In the light of ethnographic evidence about Edinburgh's Pakistani population, it is argued that the latter have responded to their exclusion and sense of alienation from the wider society defensively: by drawing sharper and more dividing social boundaries which are reflections of an increasingly inward-looking community. This has led to the making of a "closed" Pakistani community in Edinburgh – a small-scale society within the wider Scottish society. This argument is, furthermore, supported by the recent social and political events i.e. the Salman Rushdie affair, and the establishment of "the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain" and their social consequences for Britain's Pakistani/Muslim community and its relationship with the wider British society.

I: Migration to Britain

Britain has long been a country of both emigration and migration. On the one hand, adventurers, curious discoverers and traders from the British Isles travelled to remote parts of the world. Some of them returned to Britain with interesting tales about other cultures, people and about the places they visited; a few even extensively wrote about the "other cultures" and pioneered British Social Anthropology; others found the lands and the people they visited as promising places and "partners" for trade and business; still other curious and brave adventurers from the British Isles were able to discover "New World(s)" – the unknown continent of America. Thus, hundreds of men and women from the British Isles emigrated to America, Australia, Africa and Asia. In most of these parts of the world, people from the British Isles lived and worked as colonial rulers and soldiers, traders and permanent settlers. As I will discuss later in this chapter, it was mainly the British colonial connection with these lands, particularly with Africa and Asia that resulted in the mid-twentieth century large-scale migration to the British Isles.

On the other hand, the last five hundred years have witnessed migration of various kinds of people, belonging to different cultures, religions and colours to the British Isles: the Flemings and Huguenots; the Irish; Jews from Spain, and from Germany; Italians; Hungarians; Poles and other East-Europeans; and more recently, migrants from the New Commonwealth countries (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Hong-Kong, Africa and West-Indies).

The bulk of the later category of migrants in Britain came from British colonies/ex-colonies; they were mainly brought to Britain as "migrant labourers" after the second world war, particularly during the late 1950s and 1960s. Unlike the bulk of the first category of migrants to Britain, those who belong to the later category are predominantly "coloured", non-Christian and of non-European cultural background. Interestingly, it is only people who belong to the later group of migrants in Britain who are officially referred to as "migrants" and members of "ethnic" and "racial" groups.

According to the most recent government census (1991), 5.5 per cent of the British resident population belong to "ethnic" groups (other than "white"). The rest 94.5 percent belong to the white group. Table 1, below, shows the exact numbers and percentages of Britain's ethnic minority groups.

Table 1 1991 Census: Residents Ethnic Population – Great Britain

Ethnic Group	Number (thousands)	percent of total pop.	percent of pop. in 'Other Groups'
All Groups	54,889	100.0	
White	51,874	94.5	
Other Groups	3,015	5.5	100.0
Black Caribbean	500	0.9	16.6
Black African	212	0.4	7.0
Black Other	178	0.3	5.9
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Black Total	891	1.6	29.5
India	840	1.5	27.9
Pakistani	477	0.9	15.8
Bangladeshi	163	0.3	5.4
Chinese	157	0.3	5.2
Other Groups - Asians	198	0.4	6.6
Other - (non-Asians)	290	0.5	9.6

Source: "Population Trends" (1993:13): No. 72, Office Of The Population
Census And Services (OPCS)

According to the above table the largest ethnic minority group in Britain is Indian that forms 1.5 percent of the total population, or 27.9 percent of the total ethnic minority population. While the second largest ethnic minority groups in Britain is the Black Caribbean forming 0.9 percent of the total population and 16.6 percent of the whole ethnic groups population, the Pakistanis constitute the third largest ethnic group in Britain: 0.9 percent of the total British population and 15.8 percent per cent of the ethnic minority population as a whole. As the present research is about a Pakistani community in Scotland, I will go into the details of Scotland's Pakistani population and their geographical distribution in various regions, in later pages. First, it is important to look at the history of migration from the Indian sub-continent to Scotland.

A brief history of migration from the Indian sub-continent to Scotland:

The relatively recent history of overseas migration to Scotland is very similar to what was briefly mentioned earlier about migration to Britain, in general. This particularly applies to the large-scale overseas migrations during the 18th and 19th centuries to the country. During these two centuries significant numbers of the Irish, the Jews, the Italians, the Lithuanians, and the Poles migrated to both England and to Scotland. These predominantly European migrants who settled in Scotland have largely assimilated into the wider Scottish society and are not officially considered as members of specific ethnic minority groups, at present. Similarly the bulk of migrants from the new commonwealth countries, (both those from the Indian sub-continent and from Africa), from China and Hong Kong, Africa and from the West Indies to England and Scotland had taken place almost at the same period: late 1950s and 1960s.

As was pointed out the origin of large-scale migration from the Indian sub-continent to Scotland is closely linked with the long British colonial rule of the Indian sub-continent that had a strong Scottish Connection (see Cage 1985; Muirhead 1986; Cain 1986; Miles and Dunlop 1987; Dunlop 1988; Armstrong 1989; Mann 1992). Most of the first Indian migrants (from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh as these were all one country until August 1947) came to Scotland mainly as colonial seamen with the (British) East India Company; others were brought as servants by the returning British Military and Political officers in India, and later as indentured wage-labourers by British industrial companies. Some of the seamen who were poorly paid and ill-treated by their officers on board ships escaped after the arrival of their ships at the Scottish ports of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Dundee (see Visram 1986; Dunlop & Miles 1990; Mann 1992). Then they stayed in the Scottish cities and searched for work. Since the Indian seamen were British subjects they had the right to stay in Scotland temporarily, and even permanently. The pattern of leaving the ships was gradually followed by many more seamen. It is assumed that by mid 19th century a sizeable number of Indian (ex-) seamen lived in Scottish port-cities. Salter a British missionary documented the presence of Indians in Scotland and England in the second half of the 19th century:

"At this time [c. 1871] about 250 Asiatics. . . were constantly visiting in the provincial towns. . . These disciples of the prophet of Mecca wander from Plymouth to Ben Lomond and from Aberdeen to Hastings" (Salter 1873 : 221)

The phrase "disciples of the prophet of Mecca" in the above passage indicates that the Indians that Salter visited were Muslims (probably from the predominantly Muslim part of India which is now Pakistan and Bangladesh.) Salter (1873) also mention the presence of these Indians in the major Scottish cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. It is documented that the Indians in large Scottish cities were accommodated in special residential centres that were called "sailors' homes". Probably the first of such "homes" was situated in Broomie Law area, in the centre of Glasgow, during the second half of the 19th century. For example, the tenth "Annual Report Of The Glasgow Sailors' Home" (1867) said that: "the conduct of the seaman has been as satisfactory as it could be expected, taking into account the vicious influences of the shore". The reports suggests that these Indians lived a kind of institutional life at this time, and were yet to develop their own relatively independent individual and community life.

Another category of Indians who lived at this period in Scotland were servants; they were brought to the country by high-ranking Scottish colonial political and military officers in India. Though no documented evidence about the presence of Indian servants (as a separate category) in Scotland appears to be available, it is however, recorded that Indian servants were brought from India to Scotland. For example, the author of "Continental And Colonial Servants In The Eighteenth Century" writes that:

"High civil and military officials who had acquired wealth in service of the East India Company returned home to establish themselves in luxury and splendour, and carried native servants with them". (Hetch 1954:52)

The above passage indicates, by implication, that the Indian servants did live in Scotland. Mann (1992 : 83-84) suggests that the apparent lack of documented evidence about the presence of this category of Indian residents in Scotland may be due to their relatively smaller number and also of their scatteredness throughout Scotland. Therefore, they might have converted to Christianity, married local women and were consequently absorbed by the wider society. Mann adds that it is equally possible for these servants to have joined the then existent groups of Indians, after the end of their contracts or the death of their masters. Then, because of the similarity of the features of the servants and the seamen, they all might have been called Indian seamen - A well-known category.

These former Indian seamen and servants worked hard to enter the Scottish labour market. Some of them worked as unskilled wage labourers in the large Scottish cities; others did some "odd jobs", and still few others begged on the streets of Edinburgh and Glasgow. A few of these Indian residents in Scotland were able to afford to rent cheap property; they converted the rented premises into lodging/boarding houses. The houses that were situated close to each other were used for the accommodation of most of the Indian residents in the Scottish major port-cities; they were also used for the accommodation of other Indians who were in transit. These houses gradually started becoming small colonies of the Indian residents, (see Mann 1992 : 85-86). However the emergence of relatively stable and independent Indian communities in the major Scottish cities had yet to emerge.

In the aftermath of the abolition of slavery in 1834, thousands of Indians were recruited as indentured labourers in India and were then transferred to other British colonies such as South Africa, Trinidad, Mauritius and Fiji. While the overwhelming majority of these labourers were sent to the above-mentioned British colonies, some of them were also brought to Scotland and England to serve the booming British industry, at that time. Many of these indentured labourers did not return home; they, instead, joined the former Indian seamen and servants who worked as unskilled labourers in Scotland's open labour-market. This development significantly increased the size of the already existing small colonies of Indian residents in Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Indians, or in Salter's words the "Asiatics" and their small "colonies" became part of the Scottish city life. Some of the Indians even became well-known persons among the local people. The well-known Indian residents in Edinburgh at this time were Roshan Khan, Khuda Bakshs, Sheikh Roshan and Mir Jan. Interestingly these names indicate that all the four Indians were Muslims. The most famous of Edinburgh's Indian residents, however, was Roshan Khan about whom Salter wrote:

- "A well known character, and long-resident at the Scottish capital. He has long-enjoyed the fame of supplying savour pipes to the lovers of smoke; and he attends the high street near the Castle Hill, every Friday for that purpose . . . I entered his room one September evening . . . and call it a room only because he was found there, for it was occupied by twenty others as destitute as him. " (Salter 1873 : 235)

The arrival and the subsequent residence of native Indian students (other than the sons and daughters of British civil and military officers in India) in the early 1880s was an important development that contributed, a great deal, to the organisation of

the small "colonies" of Indian residents in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Most of the native Indian students attended the University of Edinburgh to study medicine; some of these students attended the universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews, as well. With only six members, the Indian students at Edinburgh University, founded the first "Indian Students' Society" (now called the "Edinburgh Indian Students Association"). The main aim of Indian Students Society was to look after the wider interests of their fellow students. The society looked after the general welfare of their fellow students and also made arrangements for the provision of Indian food for them. Moreover, the Indian students in Edinburgh took an active interest in the Indian National politics, especially in the campaign for the independence of India from the British rule.

What is of particular importance to the present discussion is that the activities of the Indian Students' Society extended into the social and cultural life of the rest of Indian residents in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The students not only enriched the social and cultural life of these Indian residents but they also contributed to the social organisation of their community. This happened, particularly, when the students became part of this community and worked as doctors after receiving their medical qualification. Although many of these students returned to India at the end of their studies, the few who remained became permanent members of the Indian small "colonies" in Scotland.

The period between the two World Wars did not witness a noticeable increase in the size of the Indian Colonies in Scotland. Except for some soldiers and seamen who fought on the British side in World War One and then stayed in Scotland, the Indian Colonies remained almost static. This state of affairs continued into the 1920s. According to Mann (1992 : 102) ". . . There is no evidence of any settled Asian communities, outwith the *Laskar* [seaman] colonies in any of the cities before the mid 1920s". Mann [1992 : 124] further adds that this situation did not change until the end of the World War Two. In the years immediately after World War Two, an increase in the number of Indian residents was noticeable. The new comers mainly arrived in Glasgow which became the centre of Indians in Scotland by this time. Most of these Indians have been able to earn their living; some of them worked in factories; a few worked as bus-conductors in the major cities; but the majority of the Indians were not able to find jobs. Therefore, they worked as peddlers, or self-employed mobile door-to-door salesmen. The peddlers mainly operated in Glasgow and in its surroundings; some of them also worked in Edinburgh, Dundee and even in Aberdeen.

While the number of Indians in Scotland continued increasing and reached a couple of hundred individuals by 1947, the 14th August of this year witnessed a very important historical event: the independence of India from Britain's colonial rule which simultaneously led to the formal separation of British India into the independent states of India and Pakistan. This event not only altered the political relationships between India and Britain. It also split the formerly Indian residents in Scotland and in Britain into two groups: the Pakistanis and the Indians (the latter was further divided into Hindu and Sikh groups). From this time onwards every one of the Pakistani, Hindu and Sikh populations in Scotland and in the U.K. started emerging as independent communities with their own social, religious and political institutions. Before entering into the details of the Pakistan population in Scotland – the subject of the present research – it is essential to give some details about the rapid increase of immigration to Britain from India and Pakistan during the 1950s and 1960s.

The rapid increase of immigrants to Scotland and to Britain had been generally influenced by both "push factors" at home and by "pull factors" in Great Britain: on the one hand the mass-migration and swapping of the Muslim and Hindu populations between the newly independent states of India and Pakistan caused many social and economic problems in both countries. These problems forced many uprooted Indians and Pakistanis to leave their new (but alien to them) countries to other places, particularly to Britain where they were allowed to migrate to without many restrictions; on the other hand, the relative economic boom of 1950s in Britain created more jobs and opportunities for the recruitment of migrant labourers. The early migrants from the Indian sub-continent facilitated the migration of their kin and friends from India and Pakistan to Scotland by sending them air-tickets and providing them ad-hoc accommodation in Scotland. According to Mann (1992:162) the total number of Indian and Pakistani residents in Scotland by 1960 reached about 4,000 individuals.

However, one of the most crucial phases in the history of migration from the Indian sub-continent, and indeed from the rest of the New Commonwealth countries to Scotland and to Britain, was between April 1961 and June 1962. The 1962 Immigration Act practically put an end to the unrestricted migration of people from the New Commonwealth countries to Britain. But since the introduction of this act was seriously considered by the government in 1961 and was strongly expected to come into effect in 1962, large numbers of Pakistanis and Indians rushed to migrate to Britain before missing the opportunity. Thus unprecedentedly large numbers of people from India, Pakistan (including East Pakistan which is now Bangladesh), and

from the rest of the New Commonwealth countries migrated to Britain during this short period.

Though the migration of Indians, Pakistanis and others from the New Commonwealth countries has practically stopped, dependants of the already settled migrants were still allowed to migrate to Britain. As a result, the flow of migration from Pakistan and India to Scotland and Britain continued on a relatively high-scale level throughout the 1960s. This process in turn led to what Jeffrey (1976) called "chain-migration": the continuous process of sponsoring kin and relatives to migrate to Britain by those Pakistani/Indian migrants who had already settled in the country. The process of "chain-migration" appears to be an important factor in the gradual development of many Pakistani/Indian communities of kin and co-villagers in England and Scotland.

The majority of the 1960s migrants settled in England. Nevertheless, a considerable number of these migrants settled in Scotland as well. According to Mann (1992 : 168) by 1970 the total number of Indian and Pakistani migrants in Scotland (including children born in Scotland) reached about 16,000 individuals. The bulk of these migrants settled in Glasgow and Edinburgh.

While "chain-migration" of people from the Indian sub-continent to Scotland continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s, 1972 marks an other important phase in the history of Indian/Pakistani migration to Britain. On 4th August 1972 the then Ugandan government ordered all Asian residents of Uganda to leave the country within three months. These Asians subsequently migrated to other countries, mainly to Canada and to the U.S.A. A proportion of these "African Asians" were given a special permission by Mr. Edward Heath's government to migrate and settle in Britain. Many of these Asian refugees migrated to England, but some of them settled in Scotland too. The exact number of the "African Asians" in Scotland is not known. Nevertheless, according to leaders of the Indo-Pakistani community in Edinburgh, this category of the Asian migrants accounts for about 10 percent of all Asians in Scotland (see also SEMRU 1987:II:24; Nye 1992:8-9). But, the "African Pakistanis" in Edinburgh estimate that their number in Edinburgh is about 120 individuals.

Apart from the "African Asians" who have significantly and suddenly added to the size of Indian and Pakistani populations in Scotland in the early 1970s, recent patterns of migration from England to the country continue to increase this size. The number of Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshi who "migrated" from south of the border into

Scotland appears to have increased in the late 1980s up to now. It is difficult to estimate the number of Pakistanis, particularly, who "migrated" from England to Edinburgh in the past few years. But, the appearance of many "new" Pakistanis who have come to Edinburgh from English cities is very noticeable. I have met a few dozens of these Pakistanis in Edinburgh, recently. When I asked about their reasons of coming to Edinburgh, most of the "new comers" told me: "No Racism in Scotland", "Less crowdedness" of Scottish cities and "friendly people". But, it seemed to me that the main factors behind this internal migration were either the establishment of new businesses (mainly through kinship/friendship connections), new family connections (through marriage) or both.

With this brief historical background of migration from the Indian sub-continent to Scotland, the total number of Indians in the country is estimated 10,050 persons, Bangladeshis 1,134 persons and Pakistanis 21,192 persons (1991 census for Scotland, part I, vol:I:88). It is the detailed numerical description of Scotland's Pakistani population that generally concerns the present research, and to which I turn next.

The Pakistani Population of Scotland

Before focusing on the details of Pakistani residents in the Lothian region and Edinburgh, it is important to mention that significant numbers of people belonging to other ethnic groups also live and work in Scotland. According to the 1991 census for Scotland (part I, vol:I:88). The total number of these ethnic groups is estimated about 62,634 persons that forms 1.3 percent of the total Scottish population. The various ethnic groups in Scotland and their estimated numbers are presented in Table 2, below:

Table 2 1991 Census : Resident Ethnic Population-Scotland

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent of Total pop.	Percent of pop. in 'Other Groups'
All groups	4,998,567		
White	4,935,933	98.7	
Other Groups	62,634	1.3	
Black African	2,773	0.06	4.45
Black Other	2,646		
Black Caribbean	934	0.02	1.5
<hr/>			
Black Total	6,353	0.1	10.1
<hr/>			
Pakistani	21,192	0.4	33.8
Chinese	10,476	0.2	16.7
Indian	10,050	0.2	16.0
Other - (Non-Asians)	8,825	0.2	14.0
Other – Asians	4,604	0.09	7.4
Bangladeshi	1,134	0.02	1.8

I have devised this table which is based on "raw" data, Table 6 of 1991 Census for Scotland, Part I, vol : I : p. 88.

The above table indicates that the largest ethnic minority group in Scotland are Pakistanis which form 0.4 percent of the total population, or about one third (33.8 percent) of the total ethnic minority population. While the second largest ethnic minority group in Scotland are the Chinese, forming 0.2 percent of the total population and 16.7 percent of the total Scottish ethnic population, the Indians are in the third place: 0.2 percent of the total Scottish population, and 16 percent of the total ethnic population in Scotland. Bangladeshis are among the smallest of Asian ethnic groups in Scotland who form 0.02 percent of the total Scottish population and 1.8 percent of the overall Scottish ethnic population. The general categories "Other-Asians" and "Other-non-Asians" form 0.09 percent, 7.4 percent of the total Scottish population respectively; each of the two categories forms 7.4 percent and 14.0 percent of all ethnic minority groups in Scotland, respectively. Unlike the situation all over Britain, where black people are the largest ethnic minority group, this category forms only 0.1 percent of the total Scottish population and 10.1 percent of all ethnic minority groups in Scotland.

Scotland's Pakistani population is scattered throughout the country. However, as Table 3 shows the larger proportions of Pakistanis in Scotland are concentrated in regions that have large urban and commercial centres, such as Glasgow and Edinburgh. According to the 1991 Census, Scotland's Pakistani population is distributed in various Scottish regions as follows:

Table 3 1991 Census: The Distribution Of Pakistani Population In The Various Regions In Scotland.

Region	Number of Persons	Percent
Strathclyde	14,627	69.0
Lothian	3,270	15.4
Tayside	1,300	6.1
Fife	784	3.7
Central Region	681	3.3
Grampian	238	1.1
Highland	101	0.5
Dumfries and Galloway	83	0.4
Western Isles and Islands	55	0.3
Borders	30	0.1
Shetland Islands	15	0.07
Orkney Islands	8	0.04
Total	21,192	100

I have devised this Table which is based on "raw" data of 1991 Census for Scotland, Part I, vol : I : pp. 80 - 100 and p. 14.

Table 3 above shows that the largest proportion or 69 percent of Pakistani residents in Scotland live in the Strathclyde region. The majority of these Pakistani live in the city of Glasgow. The second largest proportion or 15.4 percent of Scotland's Pakistani population live in the Lothian region. The overwhelming majority of Pakistanis in Lothian live in the city of Edinburgh. However, the estimated 3,270 figure of the 1991 Census for the Lothian's Pakistani population is probably a gross underestimation. Leaders of Edinburgh's Pakistan Community estimate that the total number of Pakistanis in Lothian region is between 5,500 to 6,500 persons.

This discrepancy between the above-mentioned official figure and the estimation of the community's leaders may be due to the recently increasing "internal migration" of Pakistanis from England to Scotland. It appears, as I mentioned, that more British Pakistanis have migrated to Edinburgh in the past three years – after the 1991 Census was conducted. It is equally possible that some Pakistani included themselves in the "Asian-Other" category of the official forms of the Census; or a combination of both the two reasons might have led to the discrepancy between the official and the unofficial estimations. Thus, the unofficial estimation of the Pakistani population in the Lothian region between - 5,500-6,500 persons - seems to be more reliable than the official figure, of 3,270 persons.

The Edinburgh Picture

The overwhelming majority of the Pakistani population of the Lothian region live in the city of Edinburgh. Leaders of Edinburgh's Pakistani community estimate that over 6,000 Scottish Pakistanis live in Edinburgh. Unlike some English cities such as Bradford, Middlesbrough, the Midlands and certain parts of London, Edinburgh's Pakistani population is generally scattered throughout the city. Nevertheless, I have found that more Pakistani families live in Leith, Wester Hailes, Tollcross, and The New Town, than in other parts of Edinburgh. Despite this relative geographical scatteredness of the Pakistan families in the city, most of them frequently interact with one another via the Mosque(s)/community centres, social and cultural gatherings and through family visits. It should be added that because of their experiences and fear of racial harassment many Pakistani families in Edinburgh tend to like living close to other Pakistani families. In fact clustering of Pakistani families in some parts of the city such as Leith and Tollcross is increasingly noticeable.

According to the 1991 Census for Scotland, the ratio between males and females of the Pakistani residents of the Lothian region is almost equal: the number of Pakistani men in the region is slightly more (1,663 persons) than Pakistani women (1,607 persons). This situation was very different in the 1970s. In the early 1970s the number of Pakistani men in Edinburgh (and in Scotland) was almost double of that of women. This shows that significant number of Pakistani men married in Pakistan and brought their brides to Scotland. The 1991 Census also reveals that more than a half (1,711 persons) of the Pakistani population in the region are born in Scotland. This further indicates that the majority of the Pakistani population in the region belong to the sociological category of "second-generation". Despite the official underestimation

of the total Scottish-born Pakistani population in the region, these results can be extrapolated to the total (actual number) population: it is, at least, a sample of about half of the unofficially estimated number of all Pakistanis in the Lothian region.

Edinburgh's Pakistani population, generally, tend to be self-employed. Many of them work in grocery shops, restaurants, hotels, bakeries, post offices and in wholesale cash and carry business establishments etc. These private businesses of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents are normally shared by families and even by extended families. In many cases all or most members of a Pakistani family work together and they all share the income. The collective work of members of the same family in a grocery shop, for example, makes it difficult to define "employment" and "unemployment" of Pakistani population in the city. As I will discuss in the next section, a growing number of young graduates who cannot find other jobs assist their families in the running of their private businesses. While such young graduates are apparently self-employed they, in fact, only help their parents because they have no other work to do.

Most Pakistanis in Edinburgh own their private businesses. This is supported by the results of the questionnaire of the present study: parents of all the 60 boys who said that their parents ran a private business also said that they own them (see Chapter IV). However, it is inappropriate to generalise the results of such a small sample to the total population of about 6,000 persons. In fact I observed that many of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents worked for other Pakistanis; still some others did not have any work to do. Due to the lack of data about their employment status and about their level of income, it is impossible to estimate what proportions of Edinburgh's Pakistanis were in upper, middle and lower socio-economic classes (so is the definition and criteria for such categorisation). But, my impression is that only a small proportion of them are "Ameer Log": or very rich; the majority of Edinburgh's Pakistanis appear to have economically comfortable living conditions. But, there are many other Pakistanis in Edinburgh who rely on their daily wages and even on Government social security benefits.

As will be mention in Chapter II, Edinburgh's Pakistani residents continue to live in what I called a "modified" joint/extended families, that have adapted themselves to the post-migration environment in Scotland (see Part I, Chapter II). According to the survey of the Scottish Ethnic Minority Research Unit (SEMRU 1987, Vol III : 28), the average size of Pakistani households in Edinburgh was 4.41. This figure was a

little higher in a sample of 60 boys of the present study: the average household size of the families to which these boys belonged was 5.4.

The overwhelming majority - more than 90 percent - of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents come from the Faisalabad district, in the Punjab province. The rest of about 10 percent of them come from other places in Pakistan such as: Gujranwala, Sialkot, Rawalpindi, Attahk, Lahore, NWFP (North West Frontier Province) and Kashmir. It is mainly because of the common place of the migration of the overwhelming majority of Edinburgh's Pakistani that they belong to a common *Biraderi*, kinship group or caste - the *Arain* (see Chapter II). The majority of Edinburgh's Pakistanis, have a rural background in Pakistan.

As I will describe in detail in Chapter III, the overwhelming majority (about 96 percent) of Edinburgh's Pakistani's are *Sunni* Muslims; a small minority of about 2 percent *Shiite* Muslims; and probably a little more than 1 percent *Ahmadis* (or *Bahais*); very few Pakistan Christians live in Edinburgh. All of Edinburgh's Pakistanis speak *Urdu* the official language of Pakistan. However, those from the Punjab province speak *Punjabi* (their mother tongue) as well.

After this brief historical and present demographic background of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents, I now, turn to the reaction of the wider Scottish society and its social institutions to the presence of these people in Scotland.

II Exclusion

The Past

The previous pages indicated that the migration of people from the Indian sub-continent to Scotland and to Great Britain is closely linked to the British Colonial rule of the Indian sub-continent. The British political and economic domination of the Indian sub-continent that lasted for one hundred and ninety years (1757-1947) had a strong Scottish connection. Scottish military officers, soldiers, administrators, traders and missionaries had been actively involved in the long British rule of the sub-continent before its partition into India and Pakistan and later into Bangladesh. (see Fryer 1984; Miles and Cage 1985; Visram 1986; Muirhead 1986; Cain 1986; Dunlop 1988; Armstrong 1989; Miles and Dunlop 1989; Nye 1992, Mann 1992).

Due to this connection, Scots (whether in the then British India and/or later in Scotland) first encountered people from the Indian sub-continent, as colonial subjects, servants, seamen, destitute wage-labourers and even as beggars on the streets of major Scottish cities.

Though direct encounters of most Scots with a relatively larger number of people from the British India, the largest colony of the British Empire, did not occur until after World War Two, ideas about the inferiority of Indian culture and values as compared to those of the Europeans' already existed in Scotland. Similar and even more negative ideas about the culture and values of Britain's black colonial subjects in Africa and in the Caribbean were commonplace among many Scots. The cultures and people of the Indian sub-continent, Africa and the Afro-Caribbean were considered as backward, primitive and even barbaric (see Fryer 1993:63-72). Such ideas and stereotypes were not only confined to the culture of imperial Britain's black and brown subjects, but they also included the character and temperament of these people. According to Fryer (1993:68), Curzon, Viceroy of India between 1898-1905, described Indians as "less than schoolchildren", and in Lord Milnor's opinion the idea of extending self-government to India was "a hopeless absurdity" as non-white people did not possess "the gift of maintaining peace and order for themselves". Fryer further adds that the supposed racial superiority of "whites" over non-whites was used as the main justification for the British colonial rule over India. In explaining why Indians should be excluded from high ranks of the Indian Civil Service, a resolution of the Governor General in Council, in 1904, explicitly said that only white British had this ability: "partly by heredity, ... the habits of mind and the vigour of character, ..." (quoted in Fryer 1993:69). This clearly shows that the Indians were considered biologically an inferior race.

More importantly, these racial ideas and stereotypes about the inborn inferiority of Indians were expressed and spread through the writings of senior British/Scottish colonial administrators and missionaries in the country. For example, Lord Thomas Macaulay, a senior Scottish colonial administrator in India in the 19th century described the character and temperament of Bengali Indians, in this way:

"His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance, but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climes to admiration, not unmingled with contempt. . . larger promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and

defensive, of the people of the lower Ganges." (Quoted in Armstrong 1989:22)

This description of some particular individuals that Lord Macauley, most probably, encountered as his servants, may be true. But, generalising these description to "the people of the lower Ganges" are very much in line with the "scientific racism" of the 19th century that attributed different behavioural characteristics to people of different skin-colours.

Apart from these writings, racialised ideas about the racial inferiority of the black and brown people and their cultures were transmitted to the ordinary Scottish citizens through the returning soldiers of Scottish regiments who served in India.

"Scottish army regiments were stationed throughout the British Empire and soldiers returning to Scotland would discuss with their families and friends the people they had encountered while abroad. Their accounts were often shot through with the racist attitudes which justified and explained the presence of the British army in Africa and India." (Armstrong 1989: 24)

It is very likely that the above mentioned ordinary soldiers belonged to the Scottish working class. Thus, the returning soldier had been a direct medium of transmitting negative ideas about Britain's black and brown Indian and African subjects to those sections of the Scottish population who could not read and write; or to those who did not have access to writings that described "coloured" people as biologically and racially inferior to "white" Europeans.

Missionaries and the church also played an important role in the spread and development of negative ideas and stereotypes about the values, morality, and character of the black and brown people of India and Africa during the 18th and 19th centuries. Churchmen probably added a further charge to the inferiority of these people to impress on their audience that their faith was the "right" one so that to justify the work of Christian missionaries as "civilising". According to Armstrong (1989 : 24) "The sermons given by ministers and priests in Scotland during the colonial period often contained references to the work of missionaries and referred to the characteristics of the people whom the missionaries were working to "civilise" ". In addition, the church also played an indirect but very important role in publicising ideas about the inferiority of the cultures of British colonial subjects through the school. Due to the church's strong influence and important role in the Scottish

educational system particularly during the 18th and 19th centuries, text books of geography and history contained explicit references to the superiority of "white" British culture and values over the cultures and values of "coloured" Asians and Africans. According to Armstrong (1989 : 24) "the size and power of the British Empire were facts drummed into the heads of every school pupil in the country and the racism inherent in conventional views of the Empire and its people was part of a child's education". Moreover, according to Fryer (1993:77-81) hundreds of children's books even until the 1960s contained racist tales and stories about "coloured" people.

Thus, it can be strongly asserted that the tales of returning Scottish soldiers, writings of senior civil administrators, preachings of the church, lessons in the schools, and children's books greatly contributed to the development of negative and racialised stereotypes about the Indians long before they came to Scotland. Not unexpectedly the first direct encounters of Scots with Indians in Scotland did not alter the stereotypes and negative images of the former about the latter. Instead, since the Indians in Scotland were destitute wage-labourers, disempowered servants, and even beggars with unfamiliar habits and facial features, the already existing stereotypes about them were further confirmed. This is clearly evident in the descriptions of the early Indian migrants by individuals and institutions in Scotland. For example, Salter (1873 : 236) described these Indians in Scotland as ". . . as manageable as children. . . "; Hammerton (1893 : 138) as ". . . weak creatures"; a medical officer's report in Glasgow (1929) as ". . . have little regard for cleanliness. . ."; and further added to these generalised descriptions of these Indian immigrants in Scotland was a complaint of being a ". . . menace to the social and industrial amenities of the community" (The Motherwell Times 11,2, 1921)

The above mentioned Institutions, Institutional practices, and the expressions of personal racialised opinions further contributed to the strengthening of negative mental attitudes and racial prejudice towards the Indians in Scotland. What is more crucial to the present discussion is that these generalised negative stereotypes and attitudes did not remain in minds, but were translated into exclusionary actions and practices against the Indians. Existing documented evidence shows that the early Indian residents in Edinburgh during 1920s were largely excluded from the social and cultural life of the city. For example, according to Dunlop and Miles (1989 : 30) "From the correspondence columns of The Edinburgh Evening News it is clear that several dancing halls had operated a "Colour Ban" ever since they had opened while others had recently introduced one. . ." Dunlop and Miles further add that the more

liberal-minded owners of the dancing halls and restaurants in Edinburgh allowed "Asiatics and Africans" only to "partake of refreshments but not dancing. The reasons for these "Colour Bans" were the objections of visitors to the presence of coloured people in the dancing halls."

This evidence clearly points to two important points. First, the evidence unambiguously shows that the Indian and African customers were banned from the dancing halls and restaurants because their skin-colour was black or brown. Thus, due to their colour the Indians were excluded from socialising with indigenous population. Secondly, the documented evidence indicates that it was the visitors who objected to dancing with "coloured" people not individual owners of dancing halls and restaurants. This means that the public pressure on the owners of dancing halls and restaurants must have come from sufficiently large numbers of the public to force them to exclude "coloured" people from social and cultural entertainment. This second point is further supported by the following incidents in 1927. When the Edinburgh Indian Society collectively protested against the widespread exclusionary practices by the city's dancing hall/restaurants' "Colour Ban" the MP for Argyllshire, Mr. MacQuisten, replied to the Association as follows:

"In my opinion you should be very grateful to these proprietors of the dance halls for what they have done. I am sure that all Indian fathers and mothers will be only too glad to have their sons excluded from dance-halls-places where they are liable to make undesirable acquaintances". (Edinburgh Evening News: 3 June 1927)

Though diplomatic and polite (and inherently patronising), Mr MacQuisten's statement clearly backed the prevailing exclusionary practices against the Indian residents in Edinburgh. This indicates that exclusion of coloured people from the social and cultural life of the Scottish society had political support.

What has been so far said described the development of racialised negative stereotypes about people from the Indian subcontinent and outlined some examples of the resultant racial discrimination and exclusionary practices against them in the more or less immediate past. In the next section I will examine the extent and the various dimensions of racial discrimination and exclusionary practices against Britain/Scotland's ethnic minority population (with special focus on Pakistani population at present).

The Present

Despite the discredibility of views and theories about the biological and cultural superiority of white people over non-whites and about the disharmonious effects of their presence in European countries (see the works of Miles; Husbands; Cashmore; Hall); despite the increasing strength of anti-racism movement in Scotland and in Britain (such as, the Anti-Nazi League, the Anti-Nazi Action Scottish Anti-Racist Movement, National Anti-Racists Movement in Education, Lothian Black Forum etc.) and its campaign for equating racism with other disreputable 'isms' i.e. Sexism, Anti-Semitism, Ageism and even Bodyism; and despite the successive government legislations outlawing many forms of racial discrimination (see the 1965, 1968 and the 1976 Race-Relations Acts) racial discrimination and exclusionary practices against members of ethnic minority groups continue to be a feature of Scottish/British Society.

In the following discussion, I intend to discuss the exclusion of and discrimination against Britain's "coloured" citizens, particularly Pakistanis in Scotland, in various spheres of social life. I will focus mainly on racial discrimination in employment, housing, sports/entertainment, and in the general social and political life of the wider British/Scottish Society. I will also discuss that nature and the extent of racial harassment and violence that are experienced by Pakistanis in Scotland and in Edinburgh.

Employment

Despite the passage of about 18 years since the introduction of the 1976 Race Relations Act that criminalises racial discrimination in employment, there is much documented evidence, showing that Britain's "coloured" citizens have been and are consistently discriminated against, at present, in employment. Apart from evidence in the 1960s and 1970s, new research in the past decade including those in the early 1990 indicate that the unemployment rates for "coloured" people in Scotland and in the U.K. are many times higher as compared to those of the indigenous "white" population. More importantly, this evidence further indicates that Britain's Pakistani population have the highest unemployment rate among members other ethnic minority groups. A recent CRE report: "Race Through The Nineties" (1992:10) gives the unemployment rates for the various ethnic groups and the

"white" population of Britain as follows: White: 8 percent; West Indians: 15 percent; Indians: 12 percent; and Pakistani/Bangladeshi 25 percent.

The above figures show that the unemployment rate of Britain's Pakistani population is more than three times higher than that for the indigenous white population. These conclusions about the unemployment rate for Britain's Pakistani population is consistently confirmed by other studies: the department of employment's survey "Ethnic Origins And The Labour Market" (Employment Gazette 1991:67) reveals that Britain's Pakistani/Bangladeshi population had the highest unemployment rate – 25 percent – as compared to other ethnic groups in Britain. (see also Brown 1984, 1985 and McCrudden, Smith and Brown 1991).

Not surprisingly, the situation is not very different in Scotland. A report of the Scottish Office's research unit "Ethnic Minorities in Scotland" (1991:79) shows that the unemployment rate for Pakistanis in Scotland was almost as high as it was in the UK as a whole : 24 percent. The above-mentioned report, particularly, confirms the conclusion drawn by SEMRU (Scottish Ethnic Minority Research Unit):

"Unemployment rates were a third higher for ethnic minorities men; for women the difference was even higher. Among those particularly affected by high unemployment levels were Pakistanis. . ."

(Ethnic Minorities In Scotland 1991:2)

Most of the above mentioned studies attribute the discriminatory practices of "white" employers' against "coloured" people to the employers' racial prejudice: direct racial discrimination. But, it is important to mention that discrimination against members of ethnic minority in employment groups may be indirect and not resulting from racial prejudice of employers. For example, it is possible that the many-fold high unemployment rate among ethnic minority groups in Britain may be partly a result of certain institutional practices, procedures, and "working-cultures" that unconsciously place members of these groups in disadvantaged positions; the potential employer may not have any racial prejudice against members of ethnic groups. He/she may feel that Asians or Afro-Caribbeans may not "get on", "fit-in" or "get along" with the rest of his/her workforce. In this case the employer does not directly discriminate against the Asian or Afro-Caribbean because of the latter's colour/race; but the potential employers' practices have exclusionary consequences for members of ethnic minority groups. Similarly, some recruitments may be made through "word of mouth" rather than public advertisement. This practice is also very

likely to prevent members of ethnic minority groups from knowing about the vacancies, and therefore be excluded from the list of candidates.

Whatever the actual reasons for the high rate of unemployment of Pakistanis – direct racial discrimination or unintentional institutional practices – in Scotland and in the U.K., some young Pakistani unemployed graduates told me that they were directly discriminated against in the labour market because of their race/coloured. Three unemployed young Pakistani graduates all of whom were born in Britain told me in 1992 that: "We have been looking for jobs in this country for the past year. Because of our Pakistani origins we have very little chance to find jobs in this country."

When I asked the young men why they had little chance to find jobs in the country, they all said in one voice, "because of racial discrimination". Then later I found that one of them, an electrical engineer, found a job in Pakistan, and the other, an accountant, was waiting to get a job in Pakistan as well. The third one, a graduate in Physics, had still not found a job after one and a half years of "filling out countless applications", as he put it. Then this young man opened a shop with his uncle's financial help. He told me about his new status as shopkeeper that:

"This is not my choice; I have been searching for jobs for the past one and a half years. But I was unsuccessful. I was convinced that it would be a long time before I will get a job in this country or in Pakistan. Now, I am a shopkeeper - a job that I most hated – but this was the only choice that I was left with"

A few older self-employed Pakistani residents who graduated as lawyers and engineers told me similar stories. One of them said that "the people in this country think that we (Pakistani in Scotland) have chosen to be shopkeepers. The fact is that we are denied other jobs, even if we have the best qualifications."

Though this generalisation did not seem to apply to all highly qualified self-employed Pakistanis in Edinburgh; but many of them could not have found the jobs that they were trained for. As a result many of the educated young Pakistanis, as the above-mentioned cases indicate, tend to join their parents' business as self-employed persons. This conclusion is supported by an important study by the Commission of Racial Equality. The CRE study "Ethnic Minorities And The Graduate Labour Market" (1990a) connects self-employment of Pakistanis in Scotland and in Britain with discriminatory practices against them in the graduate labour market. The study concludes that there is a serious lack of opportunities for Asian young graduates,

forcing them into self-employment. A more recent research by Professor Jones and McVoy of Liverpool's John Moores University further confirms this, as reported in "The Independent on Sunday" (12.6.1994): ". . . One in four of Asian (Pakistani) shopkeepers had a university degree . . . It is not an opportunistic streak but a lack of other opportunities that has driven one in five to "seek salvation in self-employment". The above mentioned evidence indicates close relationships between discrimination against Pakistanis in the Scottish/British Labour Market and their self-employment. This has played a central role in making Britain/Scotland's Pakistani community a "community of shopkeepers"!

Housing

Recent research about the housing of ethnic minority groups in Britain generally indicates that members of these groups live in better housing conditions than they did in the 1950s. Philips (1987) in his study "Searching for a decent home : ethnic Minority Progress in the Post War Housing Market" reports a significant improvement in the quality and standards of the ethnic minority housing during the past four decades. This, according to the study, is particularly true in the case of Asian ethnic groups – Indians, Chinese and Pakistanis. As a result of the general upward mobility of the socio-economic statuses of these ethnic groups, they have been able to live in better housing.

However, Philips's (1987) study adds that improvement in the housing conditions of Britain's ethnic minorities does not mean equality of treatment. The study shows established patterns of inequality and discrimination in housing against ethnic minorities:

"In the 1980s, then, the NCWP [New Commonwealth and Pakistan] minorities still live in significantly worse quality housing and in poorer, less popular areas than the white British population. This holds both across and within tenures. Indeed, the high level of owner occupation among Asians (72 percent as against 59 percent of the general population) provides no guarantee of good housing ... The prevailing trend in many cities over the last two decades has been one of growing residential segregation between NCWP minorities and whites, with the former becoming increasingly over-represented in the poorest areas. This is particularly true of the Asian population, whose potential for residential mixing has been reduced by their relative absence from council housing. As analyses of local authority data have shown, however segregation within the public sector itself is all too prevalent and inequality prevails."

(Philips 1987 : 108)

The above findings are generally supported by subsequent studies. These studies, further, reveal various degrees of exclusionary practices and discrimination against ethnic minorities in the allocation of local authority housing, in owner-occupied housing, in renting private housing and even by housing associations (see Smith 1989; CRE 1990b, 1990c; 1990d, CRE 1991; Ginsburg 1992).

Apart from the above-mentioned empirical evidence about discrimination in housing against members of ethnic minority population on wider British levels, there is abundant evidence about the existence of patterns of such discrimination in Scotland. An important Scottish study "Race and Housing in Glasgow" by Dalton & Daghlia (1989) found that members of ethnic minorities in Glasgow are living disproportionately in below standard housing. Their quality of housing both in terms of basic amenities and location was not only more inferior than those of Glasgow's white population, but was much below the accepted standard of housing. More importantly, the study reveals that this has happened in areas where locally-based housing associations operated since early 1970s. These findings are further confirmed by various other studies in Scotland. For example, McEwan and Varley's study (1989) found that members of ethnic minorities in Edinburgh were unlawfully discriminated against, in the allocation of local authority housing. The study reveals that Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis were allocated houses in Edinburgh's most unpopular areas. A more recent survey that was conducted for "Scottish Homes", the National Housing Agency in Scotland, further confirms the inequality in housing for Scottish ethnic minorities:

"Housing for ethnic minorities in Scotland is below the average quality for the rest of the population. . . Residents in ethnic minority households are almost four times more likely to live in over-crowded conditions than residents in households headed by white persons and are also more likely to lack basic amenities . . ." (Reported in the Scotsman: 15.12.1993)

All these studies, generally, report inequality in housing for members of ethnic minorities in Scotland and in the U.K. in terms of basic amenities, location and numbers of persons per room or over-crowdedness. What is crucial to the present argument - the connection between exclusion and the making of "closed community" - is the disproportionate allocation of housing to ethnic minorities in certain unpopular and poor areas of cities in Scotland and England. This discriminatory practice, as Philip (1987 : 108) suggested earlier has resulted in the ". . . growing

residential segregation between the NCWP minorities and whites, with the former becoming increasingly over-represented in the poorest areas."

Thus, alongside the "chain-migration" as a factor in the development of ethnic enclaves and ghettos in some British cities, the disproportionate allocation of housing to members of ethnic minorities in certain areas of cities is another important factor in this process. Though, as it will be discussed in Chapter IV, members of Edinburgh's ethnic minorities, particularly Pakistanis, are residentially scattered throughout the city. But the continuous disproportionate allocation of housing to ethnic minorities in certain areas of the city may gradually exclude them geographically and ecologically from the rest of the city. In fact I have observed that in the past four years more "new-comer" and relatively poorer Pakistanis (mainly internal migrants from England) have lived close to each other in Wester Hailes and Leith, and in some other poorer areas of Edinburgh. This might be the beginning of the making of a geographically "closed" ghettoised Pakistani community in Edinburgh, as it has already happened in Bradford, in parts of London and in other English cities.

Sports and Social/Cultural Entertainments

As far as exclusion in sports and social/cultural entertainments is concerned it more directly affects the British-born young Pakistanis. The major spheres of this form of exclusion manifests in discrimination and intimidation of young Pakistanis in public places such as sports halls, dancing halls and in other social clubs. Despite the fact that discriminatory practices and racial intimidation commonly take place in this area, it is the least researched by the government and other independent researchers. It is probably this reason that very little data is available about discrimination against members of ethnic minorities in sports and in places of social/cultural entertainment. Cases of racial discrimination in sports are occasionally reported by the press. But, it appears that the press take interest only in those cases of racial discrimination that are serious or are widely complained about. For example, as a result of intolerable discrimination against Pakistani football players in Ealing, Southall, in 1993 the local Councillor Mr. Khabra was requested to help the players with the issue. Mr. Khabra told "The Independent on Sunday" (5.12.1993) that: "Football clubs in this country are more racist than in any other country. . . Football is one area in which it [racism] has not been properly tackled". The Councillor further added that Asian players are frequently harassed and intimidated by white football players and fans, in stadiums: "Asian kids go to

Wembley and are intimidated by the fans. You feel yourself isolated in the crowd. You cannot share your excitement because those around you are racist." Mr. Khabra's comments, in the above quote, seems as if he himself experienced intimidation and harassment in stadiums.

The nature of racial intimidation often gets worse when Pakistani players play against English or Scottish players. Apart from examples of such intimidation in ordinary or less important matches between Scottish/English and Pakistani teams, in 1992 during a cricket test between Pakistan and England, at Headingley, Leeds, English fans threw the head of a pig among the Pakistani supporters of the Pakistan team. This event had deeply offended some of the Edinburgh young Pakistanis who travelled to England to watch the game.

Many young Pakistani sportsmen in Edinburgh told me numerous stories about their experiences of racial discrimination and verbal abuse when they played cricket and football with boys from the indigenous population or near to them in a public space. The Pakistani boys said that they experienced calling of "racial names and abuse" when they played football or cricket with white boys in the same team or in separate teams but in the same ground. One of Edinburgh's Pakistan boys described his experience of playing football with Scottish boys as follows:

"I liked playing football since I was five years old. I played a lot with other Pakistani boys in Huddersfield. When our family moved to Edinburgh I wanted to join our college team. But they told me they already had more than enough people in the team. Then some other boys in the college told me that I can play in their own team. I couldn't wait, and started playing with them the next day. In the beginning, I really enjoyed playing with them. The team played very well, and I was more than an average player among the boys. I played for the team many times and we often won matches. Only, sometimes, one or two boys in the team called me "racial names"; I ignored them. But, after a few months more boys called me names; they shouted at me when I made small mistakes. When we went for a drink after a game they did not speak to me; except one or two boys who spoke to me, others ignored me. I felt unwanted, so I had to leave the team after eight months. Now, I play with Pakistani and Arab boys. But Pakistani boys are not good at playing football. We are going to join some Iranian boys and make a new team. The Iranians are very good in football".

The above description is a clear example of an effective process of the exclusion of Pakistanis, particularly the second generation, from sports and entertainments in the wider society. As I will show in the next section, this description provides an

answer to Mr. Norman Tebbit's famous complaint to the Los Angeles Times (March 1990), that the second-generation Pakistani youngster in Britain "Fail the cricket test". Mr. Tebbit meant that the second-generation Pakistanis, in Britain, despite being British citizens, support the Pakistani cricket team against England's. Mr. Tebbit's observation is obviously correct. But, the reasons that young Pakistani support Pakistan against England, is in part because England has excluded them from participation in its sports. As a result, Pakistan youngsters formed their own cricket and football teams and clubs that further add to the "closedness" of the Pakistan communities in Britain. The British-born youngsters in their Edinburgh Pakistani cricket team are proud of Pakistani cricket; these boys' hero is not Ian Botham; it is Imran Khan!

The exclusionary practices and discrimination against young Scottish Pakistanis in dancing halls and night-clubs, has a very similar social response from them. This has led to the creation and development of *Bhangra* - a semi-institutionalised Pakistani/Indian equivalent of the western disco. In order to keep a degree of balance among the various section of this part of the chapter I will discuss *Bhangra* in the last part of this chapter.

Political and Social Institutional Life of British Society

Apart from exclusionary practices and discrimination against British Pakistani citizens in the areas of employment, housing, and in sports and social/cultural entertainment, they feel largely excluded from the political and social institutional life of British society. Though this form of exclusion appears to be connected to the other spheres of exclusion, it has a subjective nature: a feeling of being a non-citizen.

At this level most Pakistanis in Edinburgh identify with Islam and consider themselves as part of the larger "Muslim Community" in Britain. The exclusion of Islam from the Blasphemy Law, the government's denials of giving Muslim schools grant-aided status, and the absence of Muslims' representation in the British Parliament are the major issues that Edinburgh's Pakistani population often cite as examples of exclusionary practices against them on broader political/societal levels.

Many Pakistanis/Muslims in Edinburgh believe that because they are not represented in British political life, their voice is not heard and their cultural and social needs as a religious community are ignored. One Pakistani intellectual in

Edinburgh told me that "We as Muslims are clearly discriminated against. Look at the Blasphemy Law; Insulting Christianity is blasphemous and against the law of the land. But insulting Islam is Freedom of Speech". The intellectual was referring to the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* and its social and political aftermath. Then he added that "We are treated as less than full citizens of this country. There are more than one million [sic.] Muslims in Britain, and yet we don't have even one MP in the Parliament." Obviously, the absence of Muslim MPs in the British Parliament is not easily explained. Nor is it an adequate indicator of political participation or non-participation. But, the lack of any representation or another mechanism for the expression of their views, in part, make British Pakistanis feel politically excluded from the mainstream society. These feelings appear to be more strongly shared by the religiously-oriented academics, and educated Pakistanis in Scotland. The ideas about their political exclusion are easily taken up by the young British-born Pakistanis who link the political exclusion of Muslims with discrimination in employment and in the general social institutional life in the society. A young well educated Pakistani who worked for an insurance company told me:

"We British Muslims are seen as aliens. Our way to important political and administrative positions is blocked. First, we are denied jobs, and when we get jobs we are not promoted to higher positions. I know many Pakistanis whose promotions to senior positions were deliberately blocked. There is not a single MP, a judge and even a single Pakistan police officer in Scotland. [In fact there is one Asian police officer in Scotland]. I am born and brought up in this country, but how can I feel British if I am not given a chance to have a say about the problems that concern us all - whites and non-whites - in this country?"

This sense of exclusion from the political and institutional life of the society was felt by many young and educated Pakistanis both in Edinburgh and in Glasgow. Such view is almost identical to what Cook (1993 : 142) observed about all "coloured" youths in Britain : "Regardless of their legal rights and place of birth, black British citizens often find themselves regarded as alien, formally within, but informally without citizenship".

The general feeling of social and political alienation among Edinburgh's Pakistanis, appear to have increased in the aftermath of the Rushdie affair. It created a new political consciousness among them – a need to further strengthen their sense of community on both micro and macro levels and to defend themselves against exclusion and discrimination and the feeling of insecurity. I will discuss the social responses of

Edinburgh's Pakistani population to their sense of exclusion from the political life of the wider society (particularly in relation to their attitudes towards "the Muslim parliament") in the next part of the chapter. First it is important to discuss that the sense of insecurity and alienation of Pakistanis is further strengthened by their experiences of racial harassment and violence in Britain.

Racial Harassment

Racial harassment and violence against members of ethnic minority groups in Britain is not a new phenomenon. "coloured" migrants from Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia have experienced racial harassment and violence since their arrival in Scotland and England. The existing documented evidence indicates that these migrants were subject of racial attacks in London, Cardiff, Liverpool, Hull and Glasgow as early as the 1920s. (see Skillington et al 1992 and Maan 1992). Some of these attacks on Indian migrants resulted in death and serious injuries (see Maan 1992 : 111-113).

The 1940's witnessed a series of racial attacks on Asian and Afro-Caribbean migrants. The most serious and wide spread of these attacks took place in Liverpool in 1948; in Birmingham in 1949; and in Dentford in 1949. Violence against "coloured" migrants became even more widespread in the late 1950's. Asian, African and Afro-Caribbean migrants were targets of systematic attacks by white youths throughout Britain. In the 1960's Pakistani migrants in Britain particularly became a focus of racial violence. The widespread and systematic attacks mainly by white skinheads on Pakistanis turned into a slogan "Paki-Bashing" in this period. Mr. Enoch Powell's, MP, famous speech, "Rivers of blood" in 1969 further escalated the level of violence against coloured migrants in Britain throughout the 1970s. At this time, Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants were again the main target of racial violence; the scale of the violence which is reported in the "Blood On Street Report" (1978) indicates that these attacks were almost common place in the major English cities. The 1980s witnessed a quantitatively significant rise in racial violence and assaults on members of "coloured" ethnic minorities throughout Britain. According to a Runnymede Trust's "Report on Race and Immigration" (1991), the total number of racial incidents in England and Wales during 1988, 1989 and 1990 were: 4383, 5044, and 6359, respectively. The figures for Scotland during the same three years were: 299, 376, and 636, respectively. These figures show a dramatic increase in the incidents of violence against members of Britain's ethnic minority groups. The upward trend in racial attacks in Britain is generally confirmed by other studies that were conducted

in Leicester (see Chambers Community Consultants 1989) and in Sheffield (see Racial Harassment Project 1989) (see also for further data on this topic the Metropolitan Police 1990).

The above figures are considered a underestimation of the actual incidents of racial incidents both by the Home Office and by independent self-report studies. A survey by Victim Support (1991) "*Racial Attacks in Camden, Southwark, and Newham*" which was sponsored by the Home Office estimated that the number of incidents that were recorded by the police in England and Wales - between 3,000 to 6,000 - represented only 2 to 5 percent of the actual number of incidents in 1991.

What is more directly relevant to the present discussion is that most of the above findings indicate that Britain's Bangladeshi and Pakistani populations are disproportionately victims of racial attacks and harassment as compared to other ethnic minorities. A home office inquiry "Racial Attacks" (1981) showed that Asians (Pakistanis/Bangladeshis) were 50 times more likely to be attacked, and Afro-Caribbeans more than 36 times more likely to be attacked than the indigenous white population of Britain. (See Haralambos 1987 : 394 for very similar conclusions). Moreover, Mayhew et al (1989) concludes that racism contributed to Pakistanis and Bangladeshis being victims of crime more than members of other minority groups.

Contrary to the common belief that "it does not happen here", and "racism is an English disease" much Scottish research indicates that racial harassment and violence against ethnic minority groups in Scotland is as evident as it is any where else in Britain. The Scottish studies show that the predominantly Pakistani population of Scotland is frequently subjected to racial harassment and violence. These studies reveal that the incidents of racial harassment and violence in Scotland range from (racial) name-calling, abusive phone-calls, NF's slogans dubbed on doors and walls, throwing excrement through letter-boxes and windows, to breaking windows, damaging/scratching cars and physical attacks some of which have resulted in serious injuries and even deaths. A recent study by the Scottish Ethnic Research Unit of Glasgow University has revealed that of the Indian and Pakistani residents who were interviewed in Glasgow:

" . . . over 80 percent had experienced racist abuse and around 20 percent had been subjected to physical attacks; in addition 50 percent had suffered damage to their property in racist attacks and 79 percent of those interviewed said that they had experienced racist and abusive language more than once or regularly" (quoted in Armstrong 1989 : 11)

Despite the fact that there has been little systematic research on racial violence in Scotland, the above findings are generally confirmed by other studies. A study by Stirling University whose conclusions were reported in "The Scotsman" (6.1.1990) found that "half of the members of ethnic groups in the Strathclyde region, predominantly Pakistanis, had been physically attacked; and more than half of them experienced attacks on their houses". Moreover, the Scottish Research reveals that Scotland's Pakistani population have a much higher rate of criminal victimisation than the population in general in the country. (see Ethnic Minorities in Scotland 1991). This report (1991 : 5) reveals that Pakistanis and Chinese were much more likely (15 percent) to experience verbal abuse in their work than were Indians or whites (both 8 percent). The same report further adds that Scotland's Pakistani population were more likely to be victim of "vehicle crime" than any other ethnic group.

My own observation about the nature and extent of racial harassment and violence is generally in line with the findings of the above-mentioned Scottish studies. In fact during the past five years some of the most serious incidents of violence have taken place in Edinburgh: in 1987 a Pakistani shopkeeper in Canonmill's, Edinburgh, was stabbed to death by a member of the indigenous population and the incident was generally recognised as racially-motivated. The deceased's two young children and wife have since been living in fear without a head of the household. In 1989 a young Somali refugee was stabbed by a group of white youngsters in central Edinburgh. The Somali victim later died from his injuries in hospital. This incident was also widely recognised as racially-motivated. The acquittal of one of the attackers and the conviction of the other to 21 months imprisonment was strongly criticised as too lenient and was followed by a large demonstration in the city. In 1991 two Pakistani youngsters were attacked by a group of white boys near the Meadows, in Edinburgh; they were beaten up and one of them was seriously injured and hospitalised. In 1992, 15 graves in a Muslim/Pakistan graveyard, in Leith, Edinburgh were destroyed. The incidence was considered by the Pakistani community as an expression of racial prejudice against the Pakistani community as a whole. The incident was reported to the police, but as a community leader put it: "Nothing happened; the police are not bothered about us as living people; our dead and their graves are a non-issue for them".

There seems to be much truth in what the community leader said: the Pilrig mosque was many times a target of violent attacks, particularly when it was full of

worshippers for congregational prayers. Once in 1990 during *Taraviah* - special congregational prayers that are offered at night in *Ramadan*- the back-door of the Mosque was forcefully hit by what seemed to be a large hammer or a large stone for about two or three minutes. As a result the collective worship had to be discontinued. When some of the worshippers and I went to see what happened there was no-one near the metallic large door. However, I noticed two freshly-written large letters, NF (National Front) - these letters were written beside other NF's slogans that were erased, but could still be seen. Such incidents have been repeated. A few months after these incident an Edinburgh police officer (introduced as Mr. Brown), was invited to a celebration in the Pilrig Mosque/community centre. Members of the community complained to the police officer about the recent incidents and about several burglaries of Pakistani houses. The police officer told the audience "Not to keep money or other valuables in their houses or pockets"!

Most importantly, the British born young Pakistanis in Edinburgh due to their more direct interaction with the wider society (in school, play-ground, streets etc.) exposed to more racial harassment and violence. As I will discuss in Chapter IV in detail, that in a sample of 60 boys in Edinburgh 91.66 percent said that they have been "treated badly because of their race/colour". These young boys who, unlike their parents, are born and brought up in Britain said that they are told "Go back to your country" by white boys. This standard exclusionary statement and other racial verbal abuses (see Chapter IV), make these boys, who have not seen any other country but Britain, think seriously about their social belonging and identity. Theirs and their parents' experiences of exclusionary practices and discrimination against them in employment, housing, sports, and cultural entertainment, in political and social institutional life and their experiences of racial harassment have made them question their "Britishness"; the British born Pakistanis who constitute more than half of the Pakistan communities search for a social identity and for a social and psychological belonging - they search for social and psychological security. It appears that the more they experience exclusion and discrimination in the wider society, the more inwardly and boldly they draw the social and cultural boundaries of the Pakistani community – a small-scale "closed" society within the wider British society, where they find or hope to find new belonging and identity.

III The Making of a "Closed" Community

The Concept of Community

The concept of community is one of the most problematic sociological terms, subject to much controversy and disagreement among sociologists for more than a hundred years. Among the prominent sociologists of the 19th century who directly discussed the concept (and question of community) was the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. Tönnies' pioneering work *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (1887) laid down the foundations for the subsequent theorising and research about the study of community. In the English speaking world *Gemeinschaft* was equated with community and *Gesellschaft* with society or association.

Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* or community was culturally homogeneous; it had a clear-cut moral and social code whose values were largely internalised by members; family, kinship and religion played an important role in the maintenance of the moral and social order of the community that was often based in a bounded geographical area. Thus Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft* comprised of three central elements: blood, place (land) and mind that may be equated with the more commonly used sociological concepts of kinship, neighbourhood and friendship. As far as *Gesellschaft* or society is concerned, it was for Tönnies, all what was not *Gemeinschaft* ; it was mainly characterised by heterogeneity of culture, impersonality of social relationships and by a high degree of the physical and social mobility of the individual members of the *Gesellschaft*.

For subsequent theorising and research the concept and the question of community, were of central sociological concern. A group of American sociologists, at the university of Chicago were particularly interested in the question of community. Known as the Chicago School, the theoretical works and empirical research of the prominent Chicagans such as Park (1915), Park and Burgess (1921), Wirth (1938) and Shaw and Mackay (1942), focused on the social organisation (or disorganisation) of the city in the aftermath of capitalist industrialisation, large-scale migration and urbanisation. For the Chicagans the community question was an empirical question; they were concerned with the "Loss" (or "Decline") of Community that, in their view, was responsible for the increased social problems of American cities. Research by later sociologists within the Chicago school tradition

produced substantial empirical evidence about the "Community Loss" thesis (see Bender 1978 for a comprehensive review of this evidence).

The question of community continued to be a matter of much interest for sociologists within and outside the Chicago school tradition. However the works of the Chicagans have been sharply criticised by the sociologists of community (or community studies) in the 1960s and 1970s and later. These sociologists strongly challenged the "community loss" thesis particularly: They argue that community had not been lost; instead, it had been transformed in the aftermath of capitalist industrialisation. These sociologists backed their argument by empirical evidence, showing the existence of social circles or social networks, ethnic enclaves etc. where social relationships are conducted in a relatively stable way. Though these sociologists accept that social networks, ethnic enclaves etc. in large cities have been relatively "liberated" from bounded geographical areas, they continue functioning as communities. (see Webber 1963, 1968; Laumann 1973; Tilly 1973 : Fischer 1977, 1982).

However, despite extensive sociological theorising and research since Tonnies' pioneering work in 1887, the concept of community remains as vague as ever, and sociologists have failed to reach an agreement about a satisfactory definition of community. George Hillary (1955), in his survey of the definitions of community found that the notion was defined in 94 different ways (this number has since reached 100 [see Hillary 1983]). Hillary's examination revealed that sixty nine of the total 94 definitions agree that community is fundamentally characterised by social interaction, geographical area and some common social bonds among members; seventy of these definitions agree on the presence of a geographical area and social interaction as necessary elements of community; but a larger number of these definitions (73) agree on social interaction and social bonds as the fundamental elements of community. (see for further details Bell and Newby 1971; Popline 1972; Leighton 1988).

Recent sociologists of community studies appear to recognise that with the increasing mobility and large-scale urbanisation in most western societies geographical area is hardly a necessary element of community. (see Williams 1973; Mingione 1974; Bell and Newby 1976; Cuneo 1978; Janovitz and Street 1978; Leighton, 1988). Many of these theorists and researchers favour the "social network" approach to the study of community. As mentioned earlier according to the "social network" approach, modern (or post-modern) urban structures continue to include



communities in terms of kinship networks, leisure groups, ethnic enclaves , etc. For the proponents of this approach social interaction and common social bonds continue to tie modern urbanites to each other in what are, sometimes, called "urban villages" that may or may not be situated in bounded geographical areas. According to the "social network" approach, links between various social network often extend beyond urban centres to other overlapping networks on regional and even on national levels. (see Mitchell 1969; Wellman and Leighton 1979; Duffee 1980; Cook 1982; Cook et al 1983; Leighton 1988).

The "social network" approach that places a central emphasis on social interaction and common social bonds as necessary elements of community seems to be more applicable to the present study of an ethnic community – the Pakistani community in Edinburgh. However, it seems to me important to add a "sense of belonging" to social interactions and to common social bonds as necessary elements in the study of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. As I will describe in the following pages, the need for a sense of belonging in Edinburgh's Pakistani community mainly arises as a response to the social, cultural and political exclusion of members of the community in the wider Scottish society. Described and defined by these constituent elements, the Pakistani community in Edinburgh and in Scotland/Britain can be, generally studied on national, local and kinship levels.

National Level

Common language, religion, cultural values and customs, and a country of origin are the most important common social bonds among Britain's Pakistani population. However, these objective common characteristics become more important in creating a social/political "collective conscience" among Britain's Pakistani population when they are used as criteria for drawing ethnic/cultural boundaries in a wider inter-ethnic context. Both the official and unofficial definition of Britain's Pakistani population as "The Pakistani Community in Britain" play an important role in the creation of the social identity of this cultural/ethnic entity and in the identity of the individuals who form it. Definitions of the wider society (whether neutral or loaded such as "Pakistani" or "Paki" respectively) become part and parcel of the identities of individuals and of the collectivity, wherever they may be in Britain. It is at this broad level that all, or at least, most Pakistanis in Britain see themselves as members of the Broader "Pakistani Community of Britain", whether they are in Edinburgh, London or elsewhere in Britain.

Identification of British Pakistani population with the broader Pakistani community becomes more expressive when they confront issues that concern all Pakistanis in the country, i.e. racial discrimination, the state of Blasphemy Law and the Muslim schools. As I will discuss in the next section, the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* and the collective reaction to it, created an unprecedentedly strong feeling of community among Britain's Pakistani population on the national level. Collective protests and demonstrations against the publication of *Satanic Verses* not only through Britain's Pakistani Muslims expressed their strong sense of community to the outer world. This also functioned as a channel for communicating their sense of community and social solidarity among themselves.

At this broad national level a direct social interaction may not exist among all or most Pakistanis in Britain, but, as mentioned above most Pakistanis in Britain express a general sense of belonging to what is known as "The Pakistani Community in Britain". This sense of belonging, sometimes goes beyond ethnic boundaries to include all Muslims in Britain. However, it often finds more profound expressions on geographically and administratively defined local levels.

Local Level

The Edinburgh's Pakistani community is an example of what I mean by the existence of Pakistani communities on local levels in Britain. Edinburgh's relatively small Pakistani population not only shares pre-existing common bonds (religion, culture, tradition language and country of origin) but they have developed their own social institutions within the social, geographical and administrative boundaries of the city of Edinburgh. Their regular participation in these social institutions i.e. the Mosque/Community Centre, local Pakistani associations, kinship networks, etc., has facilitated a relatively higher degree of social interaction among Edinburgh's Pakistani population. Due to this higher degree of social interaction among Edinburgh's Pakistanis, most of them know each other face-to-face (or at least know about each other's presence in Edinburgh).

Despite the existence of some feuds, economic rivalries and political or ideological differences among groups and/or individuals and the existence of more than one caste, association and mosque, Edinburgh's Pakistani population perceive themselves as members of one community in the city. This sense of belonging to a community in Edinburgh is clearly expressed in their collective responses to racial violence,

representation of the Pakistani population in local, national even on international levels. The definition of community in terms of its constituent elements - common social bonds, social interaction and a sense of belonging appear to apply to Edinburgh's Pakistani community on this intermediate level. It is a level between the National and kinship levels both from theoretical and empirical point of views.

Kinship Level

As I will mention in Chapter II in detail, Edinburgh's Pakistani population belongs to various *Biraderis* or kinship/friendship groups. Members of an (effective) *Biraderi* not only share common bonds of religion, language, customs, a country of origins and a common ancestor, but they also have complex reciprocal relationship among themselves. Thus, they do not only share stronger common bonds, members of a (effective) *Biraderi* are also tied to each other through reciprocity and mutual social obligations. They exhibit a higher level of face-to-face social interaction; individuals have a strong sense of belonging to and strongly identify with the group.

However, the scope of the *Biraderi* is narrow. Not all the important social, religious and cultural needs of members could be fulfilled within it. *Biraderi* could hardly afford to have its own mosque, political organisation and to represent Edinburgh's Pakistani population on national and international levels (though members of one particular *Biraderi* may have more dominance in a mosque, or in Pakistani political organisations).

Because of the need of Edinburgh's Pakistani population for inter-*Biraderi* close co-operation in the development of collective social institutions, the meaning of community is more applicable to all those who participate in these social institutions. In this sense the meaning of community are more precisely applicable to the Pilrig Mosque/community centre. Though dominated by members of the *Arain* Kinship Group, the Pilrig Mosque/Community Centre represents a level of community that lies between the "kinship" and "local" levels: on the one hand, the social and organisational scope of the mosque/community centre, is large enough and is designed to cater for the social, cultural, religious, educational, political and welfare needs of all Pakistanis in this area, regardless of their kinship loyalties and affiliations. Indeed, it is the participated by a number of members who belong to various other Pakistani kinship groups. On the other hand, members have so close social similarities and common grounds that facilitate their social (face-to-face) interaction on a regular basis: the overwhelming majority of the members come

from the Punjab province; all of them follow the *Barelvi* school of *Sunni* Islam; and almost all are members of "The Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and the East of Scotland" (P.A.E.E.S.).

Shared beliefs and social similarities are further translated into action through regular congregational worship, celebration of religious/cultural festivals and other social events in the Pilrig mosque/community centre. This all has resulted in a significant level of a form of social and moral cohesion among members that Emile Durkheim (1984) called "social Solidarity". Durkheim, in his mature work the *Division of Labour in Society*, distinguished between "mechanical" and "organic" solidarity. He argued that mechanical solidarity that was based on common beliefs, consensus of moral values and on other social similarities among members was the dominant feature of relatively simple small-scale societies. This form of social solidarity, according to Durkheim, transformed into "Organic Solidarity" in modern complex industrialised societies. "Organic solidarity" was based on dissimilarities, social division of labour and interdependence among autonomous individuals and social units in society.

Durkheim's classification seems to apply to the social organisation of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Because of close social similarities particularity among members of the Pilrig mosque/community centre, its social order is based on what is very similar to Durkheim's "mechanical solidarity". Kinship ties, institutionalised reciprocal relationships and shared religious beliefs and collective worship have not only created social cohesion and solidarity among members; these factors had also led to the development of strong "collective conscience" and a high degree of value consensus among them. It is a form of social solidarity that has created a sense of belonging among members. Thus, the Pilrig mosque/community centre is a community within which members have common social bonds, regular social interaction and a strong sense of social and psychological belonging. This definition more precisely applies to the Pilrig mosque/community centre, both theoretically and empirically.

The Pilrig mosque/community centre that is participated by the majority of Edinburgh's Pakistani population is the main focus and the subject of the present study. Thus, the phrase "Edinburgh's Pakistani community" is more often used to refer to this social, cultural and religious entity in the present study. Nevertheless, since the P.A.E.E.S. formally represents all Pakistanis in the area the phrase is equally used on a local level to refer to all Pakistani population of Edinburgh.

Sometimes the term 'community' is used to refer to all Pakistanis in Britain. These various usages, however are specified by their related contexts and frames of analyses in the present study.

Edinburgh's Pakistani community: a "Closed" Community

Through most of this chapter I have tried to trace the history of large-scale migration of people from the Indian Sub-continent to Britain and to Scotland. The main focus of discussion has been the dialectics of relationships between the "host" society and the South Asian migrants: a relationship between the British imperial rulers and colonial subjects; between industry owner(s) and contractual wage-labourers; and between a dominant "white" majority and a subordinate ethnic "black" (in its political sense) minority community. More importantly this form of power-relationship between the larger "host" society and the migrant ethnic minorities, in Britain (Pakistanis in the present context) have been accompanied by large-scale exclusion of the latter from the social cultural, and political life of the wider society. It has been argued that this historical process of exclusionary practices against Britain's Pakistani population, has resulted in a sense of alienation among them – a sense of being second-class citizens. The argument has been strongly supported by empirical data. As will be shown in Chapter IV, this sense of alienation and second-class-citizenship is particularly strong among the British-born second-generation Pakistanis who are more directly affected by exclusionary practices and racial discrimination than their parents.

The sense of exclusion and alienation of British Pakistanis from the wider society has important social and cultural consequence: the emergence of an increasingly "closed" Pakistani community in Britain and in Scotland – a community whose members search for social and cultural belonging and identity. This defensive reaction has played a crucial part in the historical development of the social institutions of Pakistan communities in Edinburgh and probably throughout Britain - These social institutions are more conservative and inward-looking than those in Pakistan. For example, the institution of family in Edinburgh is much more conservative in socialising the British-born Pakistani children to religious and traditional Pakistani cultural values than a comparable family in a Pakistani city. As I will discuss in detail in Chapters II and III Pakistani parents in Edinburgh not only extends the socialisation of their British-born children beyond the family to the mosque-school, but "Discipline" during this socialisation process is much stricter and more

conservative than it is in Pakistan. Boys and girls in the mosque-school are taught separately; they are required to wear hats and scarves, respectively; corporal punishment is the main form of discipline and the young boys and girls are taught the more traditional versions of the Islamic belief system and rituals.

Parents' concern about the socialisation of their British-born children to more traditional and strict forms of Pakistani values is not simply that their children may adopt and identify with the culture of the wider society at the expense of their Muslim/Pakistani culture and identity. Parents are more concerned about their British-born children's loss of any identity - British or Pakistan – should they fully adopt Western culture and try to identify with it. Parents argue that this is because their "westernised" children will never not be accepted as full citizens of the British society. This concern was explained by a father of three young boys in the mosque school who strongly defended the traditional and strict form of his children's socialisation both in the family and in the mosque-school:

"If we don't do this our children will learn from the *Gorahs*, Whites, [see the loaded meanings of *Gorah* in Chapter IV], the *Gorah* way of life and they will behave like the *Gorahs*. But the problem is that the *Gorahs* will not accept them as British; they will still call them "Pakis". So our children will not know where they belong to. If we want our children to be good Muslims and Pakistanis we have got to teach them our religion and our way of life - the way it is in the Mosque now; we have got to tell the children that our way of life is different and better than the *Gorahs'* way of life; don't mix up the two; otherwise you will be lost".

Similarly, this emphasis on the retaining and even promotion of conservative Islamic/Pakistani values is further apparent in the general social atmosphere, rituals of collective worship and in the preaching of the mosque. As will be discussed in Chapter III all these are aimed at the creation and strengthening of a moral and social order that is distinctly different from that of the wider society. Again it is a moral and social order whose values are more conservative and traditional than those of the country of origin of this migrant community. A Pakistani student who came to Edinburgh for his one year postgraduate studies was surprised by the tradition of wedding ceremonies in Edinburgh. The Pakistani student who accompanied me for a wedding in Portobello Town Hall told me at the end of the ceremony: "I am really surprised. This wedding was much more old-fashioned (traditional) than weddings anywhere in Lahore, Faisalabad or Islamabad". Indeed, all the Pakistani wedding ceremonies that I have observed in Edinburgh have been more traditional than the

wedding ceremonies that I have attended in Lahore, Pakistan: in two of three weddings the bride wore a European wedding dress and the groom a short three piece suite with a tie; men and women mixed with each other in the large hall of Lahore's Hilton Hotel and took dinner together. But in all the wedding ceremonies in Edinburgh both the bride and groom wore traditional Pakistani dresses/clothes and men and women sat in separate parts of the hall and the whole social atmosphere was more conservative than at a wedding in Pakistan.

Likewise, men and women are separated not only during the collective worship in the mosque but in all other social and cultural occasions. This separation of men and women among Edinburgh's Pakistanis becomes particularly relevant to the present discussion when it is compared to male-female relationships in Pakistan: men and women in Pakistani universities sit side by side in the same lecture hall; they work as colleagues in the same office; and men and women mix with each other in social and cultural gatherings. Even the Prime Minister in Pakistan is a woman. When I asked a group of the community leaders, about this contrast a majority of them defended preservation of traditional Islamic/Pakistani values including a separation between unrelated men and women. One of the leaders said:

"This place is not Pakistan. Here we are *Pardis*, [strangers]; we need something to hang on to. Look at the black people in London, they followed the English habits and way of life and tried to be like the English. Their children are more Anglocised than the English are, but the English still don't accept them; they don't know who they are and where they belong to; many of young black boys and girls live without their parents in misery, but the English wouldn't give a damn, because they are black. We must stick to our religion and to our way of life more than the people in Pakistan. If we lose our religion and our own way of life then we will not know who we are and where we belong to; and we all know that the British will never accept us".

The above passage shows strong feelings of insecurity. Most of Edinburgh's Pakistanis who have experienced discrimination and feel insecure find security in community – a Pakistani community to which they could socially and culturally belong; as the above passage implies the more traditional and the more Pakistani their community the more secure many of its members feel.

This sense of alienation, insecurity and a need for cultural belonging of the first generation Pakistanis in Edinburgh is widely shared with them by their British-born children. Most of these youngsters identify themselves with Pakistan (see

Chapter IV for details). However, these second generation Pakistanis by and large, differ from their parents who seek belonging and identity in a simple return to conservative religious and traditional Pakistani cultural values. Instead most of the second generation young Pakistanis in Edinburgh appear to interpret these values in a relatively secular and modern context. They reproduce a culture that is modern but, at the same time, markedly Pakistani so that they could identify with it. Though not widely approved of by the first generation Pakistanis, the "Pakistani Youth Culture" that is emerging as a direct response to exclusion is vigorously contributing to the making of a "closed" Pakistani community, in Edinburgh and in Scotland. *Bhangra* is a case in point. *Bhangra* is a Pakistan/Indian version of western disco that is periodically organised in Glasgow or Edinburgh by young Pakistanis and Sikhs. Because *Bhangra* is still not socially approved by the first-generation Pakistanis, it takes place between 4-10 pm so that young Pakistan boys and girls can find acceptable pretexts for their late-afternoon-early evening absence from their homes.

The large dancing *Bhangra* hall is furnished with all the requirements and facilities of a Western disco hall e.g., special coloured lights, disco music, and a bar which is full of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks, etc. Almost everything in the *Bhangra* dancing hall is Western, except the attendants, barmen/women, guards and the music. The music is an interesting combination of western disco-music and of original Pakistani/Asian music; both western and Asian musical instruments are used for a disco-dancing session. The dancers are young Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi men and women. The dance is lively but more Asian than Western.

The whole institution of the *Bhangra* and its related processes is clearly an expression of Indian/Pakistan culture in a Western setting; it is an expression of a cultural identity as the Pakistan co-organiser of *Bhangra* put it:

"I am sure you know that Asian boys and girls in white discos have problems. People laugh at them and harass them there. So we thought why not our own Asian disco; here is no fear of harassment by white boys. Now, we tell them that we don't need your discos anymore; now all Asian boys and girls come to *Bhangra*; it is our culture and we are proud of it".

Despite the first-generation Pakistanis' disapproval of *Bhangra*, it is very likely to become a popular and legitimate cultural institution of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. But it will be a cultural institution that will further contribute to the making of a more self-sufficient "closed" Pakistani community. It will fill the

existing cultural and artistic gap in present social and institutional arrangements of the Pakistani community. In fact video recorded *Bhangra* music and dance alongside Indian/Pakistani movies, particularly Pakistani dramas (from Pakistan National Television) are a major social and cultural entertainment for Pakistani families in Edinburgh. Now the Pakistani video shops are an accepted part of the Pakistani business enterprise in Edinburgh.

Apart from the normative and cultural "closedness" of the Pakistani community in Edinburgh, it is increasingly becoming an economically "closed" community of self-employed businessmen, shopkeepers, restaurateurs, entrepreneurs etc. As it was shown in the previous section because of a large-scale exclusionary practices and discrimination against Pakistanis in employment, many of them have been forced to self-employment. Through family and *Biraderi* connections more and more Pakistanis are being employed by kin and friends. In some cases a Pakistani restaurant-owner or a Pakistani owner of a large departmental store normally employ other jobless Pakistanis on a part-time basis. In other cases they provide financial help, advice and social support to kin and friends to open small corner shops for themselves. Thus, the Pakistani community in Edinburgh has, more than ever, become a community of self-employed shopkeepers, restaurant-owners, businessmen, and their Pakistani employees. The relative economic success and expansion of many Pakistani businesses has resulted in the development of a complex infra-structure of Pakistani economic and financial establishments in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Pakistani banks, financial brokerage firms, mortgage companies, estate and travel agencies, have resulted in economic interdependence and a relative economic self-sufficiency within the community. This phenomenon appears to be gradually drawing the economic boundaries of a Pakistani "closed" community.

As far as communication in economic social, cultural, and political issues among members of Edinburgh's Pakistani community and among the rest of Britain's Pakistanis is concerned, the Pakistani population in Edinburgh and elsewhere in Britain is effectively informed about economic, social, cultural, political and other issues that concern them through a highly professional Pakistani press. This includes daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines, most of which are published in Urdu, or both in Urdu and English. *Awaz* (Voice), *Akhbar-i-watan* (The News of Homeland) and *Jhang* (the file [*Jhang*, a Persian word, is often incorrectly translated by some Pakistanis as war]) are among the widely read and the popular Urdu newspaper among Edinburgh's Pakistanis. The daily *Jhang*, particularly, is the most popular Urdu paper in Edinburgh. I have hardly seen any Pakistani home in

Edinburgh that did not receive the *Jhang* every day. The *Jhang* reports news of major events in Britain, Pakistan and in the world; news of events within the Pakistani community in Britain such as cultural, religious and social gatherings, conferences, incidents of racial violence, etc. are regularly reported in this daily newspaper; commercial advertisements, matrimonial, obituaries, and advertisements about Asian/Pakistani cultural and artistic events are also reported in *Jhang*. The daily *Jhang* is also supplemented by a colour "Magazine" that normally includes coloured photos of Pakistani film-stars, sportsmen and of Pakistani social and political personalities in Britain and in Pakistan.

The *Jhang's* apparent ideological openness and political neutrality and its coverage of wide range issues has made it a very influential and popular paper among Pakistanis in Edinburgh. I have found that for most of Edinburgh's Pakistanis the *Jhang* is a most comprehensive and reliable substitute for reading the British daily press. This is mainly because many Pakistanis believe that the British press neglect reporting news that relates to Pakistanis in Britain, and to the Muslim world; some even think that the British press is biased against Pakistanis and Muslims.

Hence, it is not surprising that the *Jhang* has become a major window of Edinburgh's Pakistani community to the world; it plays an important role in the making of a "closed" Pakistani community, on local and national levels in Britain and in Scotland.

The sense of alienation, insecurity and of non-citizenship of Britain's Pakistani population who are predominantly (about 99%) Muslims has been further strengthened after the publication of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses*. Britain's Pakistanis who have consistently experienced exclusion, discrimination and rejection considered the negative description of prophet Mohammed (P.B.U.H.) as "Mahound" (false prophet) the Prophet's wives as "whores" and Prophet Abraham as "Bastard" (Rushdie 1989:pp.95,101,381-82) as a conspiracy against their religion and as a most direct insult to their social identity. It was because of their long accumulated feelings of being rejected and of being looked down on that the reaction of British Pakistanis to *Satanic Verses* was so intense; it was even more intense than the reaction of people in Pakistan itself, or in Saudi Arabia and many other Islamic countries (see Appignanesi and Maitland 1989). Werbner who has done extensive research among Britain's Pakistanis for about the past two decades and who has followed the various phases of the Rushdie affair shares this view:

"The Rushdie affair, the confrontation between the Muslim community and the British nation state, . . . revealed deeply felt emotions which might otherwise have remained, perhaps,

obscured and unrecognised, even to the people themselves: a sense of stigma and discrimination, of being rejected, of having one's innermost identity and faith derided and disregarded by the wider society".

(Werbner 1991 : 344)

Indeed the massive and angry protest of Britain's Muslims, the overwhelming majority of whom are Pakistanis, was much more than a protest against a blasphemous book; it was mainly a protest against racial discrimination, exclusion and against the disregard and unequal treatment of the protesters' religion and an insult to their cultural and religious identity by the wider society. It was mainly because of this reason that the protest against as the *Satanic Verses* united the extremist, the secular (cultural Muslims) and even the atheists among Britain's Muslims. Unfortunately, it was the extremists who led the protest and responded to the situation in extreme ways. One example of this is the establishment of "the Muslim parliament of Great Britain", as an extreme response to political exclusion in the aftermath of the Rushdie affair. An official document of the "Muslim Parliament" says:

"In the face of hostility and prejudice from non-Muslims, and a lack of protection and understanding from the political system, British Muslims turned inwards to themselves for support and outwards to the global Muslim community for protection from Rushdie's insult and abuse. This had the effect of a resurgence of Muslim consciousness and identity . . ." (Emphasis added) (Race Relations and Muslims in Great Britain 1992: 2)

The above passage most clearly indicates the connection between a strong sense of alienation, non-citizenship and a sense of insecurity and the making of "closed" Muslim/Pakistani community. Though the "Muslim Parliament", which is led and dominated by Pakistani Muslims has the support of only a relatively small fraction of the larger Muslim/Pakistani population of Britain; but this may be just a matter of time. For example, among Edinburgh's Pakistani population only an insignificant minority actively support the "Muslim Parliament"; but there are members of the community who have the "wait and see" attitude towards the "Parliament". Despite the fact that the majority of Edinburgh's Muslims and Pakistani do not support the "Parliament", a leader of the community showed concern about its attraction to ordinary Pakistanis in Glasgow and Edinburgh: "The problem is that many Pakistanis say that their voice is not heard and that they are let down; they say if you (the dominant society and the state) don't look after us we ought to look after ourselves".

"Looking after ourselves" in terms of the establishment of an autonomous Muslim legislative body alongside the British parliament is very unlikely to be tolerated by the wider society, practical and therefore supported, by most members of the Pakistani community in Edinburgh and in Britain. But it appears that there is a general tendency among Pakistanis in Edinburgh to establish a more effective political institution than the "Pakistan Association for Edinburgh and the East of Scotland" (P.A.E.E.S). The general tendency among members of Edinburgh's Pakistani community about the transformation of the P.A.E.E.S. into an effective political institution is very likely to subject it to pressure from the ordinary members of the community. They want to express their grievances to the wider society more effectively. In this case the P.A.E.E.S. - the least inward-looking of the community's social institution - has to interact more closely with the other institutions of the community that are comparatively more inward-looking. Hence the P.A.E.E.S. would form the "political wall" in the making of "closed" Pakistani community.

However, this is not to say that the P.A.E.E.S. is likely to become religiously conservative or dominated by religious extremists within the community. Instead, it is more likely to be led by more secular or liberal British-born Pakistanis, who place stronger emphasis on their "Pakistaniness" than on religious doctrines and values (see Chapter IV). As the British-born Pakistanis succeed their fathers as leaders of the community, in the next two to three decades, the Pakistani community and its social institutions are very likely to undergo a social and cultural change - they are likely to be more distinctively Pakistani but less religiously conservative; more modern and in a sense "Westernised"; but paradoxically more "closed" to Westerners who have excluded them from integration to the wider society. However, much of this may not happen, should inclusion replace exclusion.

In this chapter I have analysed the relationship between exclusion of Edinburgh's Pakistani population from the social, cultural and political life of the wider society and the consequent development of the increasingly inward-looking Pakistani social institutions that constitute the making of a "closed" Pakistani community in Edinburgh. Now, I turn to the analysis of the social organisation of this community, and the way its social institutions operates as agencies of social control.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FAMILY AND THE *BIRADERI*

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main parts – the family and the *Biraderi*, or the social network of kinship/friendship relationships. In the first part of the chapter a general account of the institution of the Pakistani (Punjabi) family in its original setting in the Punjab, Pakistan, will be given. Then the state of the Pakistani family and its adaptation to the new social and cultural environment in Edinburgh will be briefly discussed. The discussion will then focus on a detailed examination of the socialisation of the British-born children of Pakistani parents, and on parental authority, as two major mechanisms of social control in the Pakistani family, in Edinburgh.

In the second part of the chapter the institution of the *Biraderi* that links families and individuals in a kinship/friendship framework is discussed. In this part, first, the meaning, forms and structure of the *Biraderi* in Edinburgh will be described. Then *Lina Dina* (taking and giving) or a form of institutionalised reciprocity and the way it creates mutual obligations, interdependence and communitarianism among members of the ("Effective") *Biraderi* will be analysed in detail. Finally, the discussion will focus on the analysis of *Izzet* and *Bizati* (honour and dishonour) that operate as powerful mechanisms of social control within the communitarian structure of the *Biraderi*, among Edinburgh's Pakistanis.

A: The Family

The Structure And Functions Of The Punjabi Family In Pakistan

The traditional Punjabi family, in its natural setting in Pakistan, is a joint/extended patriarchal social unit where two or more generations of close relatives who are affiliated by blood relationship live together under one roof or in a cluster of adjacent houses. They usually share property, land, business and often work together. They pool their income together and spend from their common purse.

This form of the family in the rural areas of the Punjab (where the majority of the province's population live) would, normally, consist of a father and mother, their unmarried sons and daughters, and their married sons with their spouses and sibling. The structure of this form of household could be illustrated as follows:

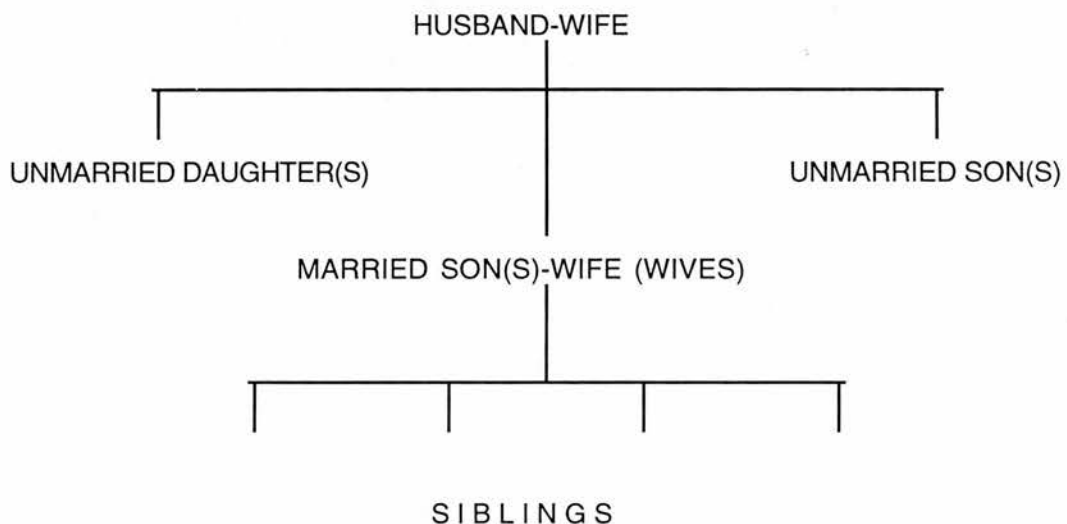


Diagram 1 The structure of the extended Punjabi family in Pakistan

This structure could also include one or both parental ancestors and a widowed daughter. It could also take the form of a "stem family" where parents live with one of their married sons (often the youngest), but their other married sons live in separate households, while often sharing their common property. Or in case of the death of father or both parents, unmarried brothers and sisters, usually live with the wife and children of their older brother who shoulders the responsibility of their education and arrangements for their marriages (see Anwar 1979,1986; Eglar 1960; Henley 1979; Kennedy 1957 and Shaw 1988).

Brothers in the joint/extended family who often live in one house or in an adjacent extension share land, business, factory, animals and other kinds of property that they, mainly, inherit from their father. According to the Punjabi customary law-father's property is passed on male line (see Eglar 1960; Maron 1957; Shaw 1988). According to Islamic Law (that has official support in Pakistan), daughter should inherit her father's property, but in practice inheritance goes only to the deceased's sons. This continued passing on of property (particularly land and house) within the same family over generations seems to be one of the main contributors for keeping the joint/extended family together. In this way the adult male and other members of the family may work on their shared land, in a factory or in a governmental office, but they all share their incomes.

There is a clear-cut division of labour between the male and the female in the joint family; men and women have their separate areas of responsibilities in the functioning of the joint familial unit. Men's world of activity is, mainly, outside the house. They normally start their day with morning prayer (preceded by the Islamic ablution), that is performed before sunrise (in any season of the year.) Then, after an early breakfast, men leave home for the family's agricultural farm, or some may go to their business or work in a nearby factory, if there is one. As predominantly, farmers, men in the rural Punjab, spend their day in cultivating plants, irrigating the land, harvesting and sowing the crops, selling the products and maintaining the irrigation system.

It is also in the domain of men to attend meetings of the local village and "Mosque committees" concerning local problems. They are responsible for all contacts with government authorities in matters such as public education, health, taxes and land revenues, judicial cases etc., In sum, men are the Punjabi family's public spokespersons.

Women's activities and responsibilities, on the other hand, are mainly domestic within the physical and social scope of the *gher* (house). They cook food, bake *nan* or *chapati* (two forms of home-baked bread) wash dishes and clothes; clean and take care of the house; they make clothes for the family members, spin, weave, and milk buffaloes. An important duty of women is bringing up children of the family (not only their own). Women in the Punjabi family in Pakistan play a very important role in the basic moral and religious education of the family's children. The joint family as a whole emphasises much on women's role in the "proper" socialisation of its children

so that they grow up *neik*, good and pious, people and to preserve their family's *Izzet*, (honour) and reputation. Children in the Punjabi family are treated as if they belonged to the whole joint/extended family rather to their own parents. Grandmothers and paternal aunts also play an important role in bringing up the "children of the family". Nevertheless, as Kennedy (1957) reports, children have most affectionate relationships with their parents, particularly, with their mothers.

However, despite the Punjabi women's predominant involvement in domestic activities, they are not completely cut off from the outer world. They visit relatives, actively participate in the celebration of social events and in other social activities within the *Biraderi* (network of kinship/friendship relationships). They also go to *mela*, fairs, or visit saints' tomb in other women's company. Besides this, according to my observation in the rural Punjab women who belonged to the working class often worked outside the house. They co-operated with men in harvesting and planting the crops and took food to them in the farm. Interestingly, it appeared that women who belonged to middle and lower middle classes rarely worked outside the house. Some of them wore *Pardah* (veil) and their outlook seem to be conservative. However, in Punjabi cities and towns women's work outside home, particularly in the medical, nursing and teaching professions was considered as an indicator of modernity and of their higher social status. This appeared to apply to all women, regardless of their social class.

The women's role as a housewife (or potential housewife) in the rural Punjab does not mean that they are totally dependent persons without an important place in the family. It is recognised that if man is the bread-winner, and the "public spokesmen" of the family, the woman is considered as an educator of its children, and is a manageress of the *gher* (house). More importantly a woman in the Punjabi culture is recognised as an important guardian of the family's *Izzet*, prestige and honour-dearly achieved social assets in the Punjabi society. The author of the "Punjabi village" writes:

"In this society a woman's co-operation, especially of the "Chaudhrani", the "Chaudhari's" mother or his wife is crucial in building up and sustaining the prestige of the man. For women control all provisions and the money." (Eglar 1960:30)

Indeed, *Chaudhari*, to a greater extent depends on the co-operation of his wife, mother, or of another mature woman's in the maintenance and building of the

family's *Izzet* (honour). But in the final analysis, it is the man in Punjabi culture who empowers the woman to "control provisions and money". The Punjabi family, remains a stubbornly patriarchal system where man is the "taken-for-granted" head. This situation places women in a relatively weak position to express their disagreements with men. Nevertheless the Punjabi family is not a conflict free social unit, as it may appear so.

Next to gender/sex as a basis of division of labour comes age as the bases of the exercise of authority among members of the joint/extended Punjabi family in Pakistan. Respect and obedience to older members in the family is followed as a norm. While being a general norm applicable to all older people in the family, obedience and respect are very clearly observed in the father-children relationships. The children learn that when their parents, particularly, the father talks they must carefully listen to him. What he says is, usually, believed and taken for granted. They rarely make objectionable comments or show opposition to what their parents, particularly to what the father, says. Even if such comments are made, they are indirect or conveyed through mother or grandmother. Abusive language and "impolite" behaviour in the presence of both parents is a taboo. As the children reach adolescence the father-son(s) relationships enter a very different stage. At this stage sons, particularly, the oldest one is expected to behave as a responsible adult. This is because he is going to be the head of the family.

Daughters on the other hand, are expected to be even more obedient than their brothers. Their obedience to parental authority is considered as an important virtue that is strongly echoed in the general Punjabi culture. Young girls' disobedience to their parents and to other older members of the family endanger their chances of marriage. This is mainly because girls' behaviour, particularly of those of marriageable age, is often a subject of scrutiny and gossip among kin and neighbours.

As mentioned earlier the hierarchical structure of social relationships (and of authority) in the Punjabi family is not restricted to the parents-children relationships, but also apply to the relationships among the other members of the joint/extended family. For example, grandparents, uncles, elder brothers and sisters, father and mother-in-laws are dealt with respect and obedience. While these relationships are mainly organised on the basis of age, there are furthermore complex rules for ascertaining the relationships of a particular member to elderly persons in the family. For example, while the daughter-in-law is supposed to be respectful and obedient to both parents-in-law, the mother-in-law often exercises a

direct authority over her. The mother-in-law has an important role in the economic and social control of the family, often having to "re-socialise" her son's new bride as the "alien new-comer" to the particular sub-culture of the in-laws' family. But the mother-in-law and daughter-in-laws' relationships and those among daughter-in-laws themselves often contain the seeds of conflict within the joint extended family. This sometimes leads to the break up of the joint/extended family.

With this general background of the structure and functions of the Punjabi family in its natural setting in Pakistan is now, more appropriate to discuss its structure and functions after migration to Scotland.

The Pakistani Family In Edinburgh

The Pakistani family in Edinburgh and in Britain in general is, a continuation of the extended family in Pakistan in many ways. However, some of the necessary adaptations of the Scottish Pakistani family to the new environment after migration may mislead the "occasional" observers. For example, some recent research have produced figures which suggest that the extended Punjabi family was radically declining after migration. A survey conducted by SEMRU (Scottish Ethnic Minority Research Unit), in the Lothian and Edinburgh District (1987:28) concludes that in Pakistani households, in the area, "31.1% had three or more adults as well as children-i.e. an extended family structure". Similarly, another research by the Scottish Office "Ethnic minorities in Scotland" (1991:34) shows that 26% of the Pakistani households in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen had extended household structure. Very similarly in the present study, 26.6% of the 60 boys in the Pilrig sample said that one or more of their close relatives (grandparents, aunts, cousins, married sisters, etc.) lived with them in their house. These research either explicitly show, or at least imply that around three-fourths of the Pakistani population in Scotland live in a "Nuclear" form of household (a social unit that consists of a married man, and woman with their children).

But are the apparently nuclear Pakistani families in Scotland actually nuclear? A superficial distinction between the nuclear and the joint/extended households in Scotland can be misleading. In fact, I have found that many Pakistani families in Edinburgh that may appear to be nuclear are, in essence, branches of a joint family in Pakistan or in other British cities. Although the scarcity or high prices of large houses in Scotland has made it difficult for members of most joint/extended Pakistani families to share one residential compound, they continue to live as joint social and

economic units. These joint families effectively perform the social economic and emotional functions of a joint Pakistani family that were described earlier.

In some cases an apparently nuclear family in Edinburgh was exactly an extension of a joint family in Pakistan. One brother with his wife and children worked in Scotland, while sending money to his other brothers or/and parents in Pakistan and sharing land and other property with them. He still consults his joint/extended family in making decisions, takes trips to Pakistan for major ceremonies and his sentiments and loyalty remain with members of the joint/extended family. My research shows that the pattern of visiting relatives in Pakistan and sending them (particularly aged parents) return tickets to Britain is a common practice in Edinburgh Pakistani community. Furthermore, the relatively common practice of the burial of the dead and the arrangement of marriages of young men with their kin in Pakistan keep ties among relatives in Scotland and Pakistan quite strong.

Thus, it could be safely asserted that Edinburgh's Pakistani population continues to have a type of joint family that fits their new circumstances after migration. That is to say that the traditional joint/extended traditional Punjabi family, in Pakistan, has been or is going to be replaced by a "modified" joint/extended family after migration. This "modified" system while preserving, to a great extent, the structure and most of the functions of the traditional family in Pakistan may not necessarily have a common residence. As the present study is, mainly concerned with the Pakistani family in Edinburgh as an agency of social control, the following discussion will focus on the socialisation of the British-born Pakistani children and on "parental authority" as two major mechanisms of social control within this social institution.

Socialisation: A Process Of Social Bonding

Since the Pakistani household in Britain is only a modified form of the joint/extended household in the Punjab, socialisation continues to be one of its major functions in the post-migration situation. Indeed, this is the case in Britain and in Edinburgh. For Edinburgh's Pakistani population, the roles of their families to socialise children to their own values, norms, and beliefs in a western culture are of even more crucial importance than they are in Pakistan. For most of Edinburgh's Pakistani families the socialisation of their British-born children starts from their birth. Thus soon after her birth (in hospital) the baby is given a bath and its head is shaved, so that the "dirty" hair is completely removed. Then *Azan*, (call for prayer), is whispered, first in her right ear, then in the left. The *Azan* that consists of thirteen sentences in

Arabic has the following meaning: "*Allah* is great" (four times), "I bear witness that there is no God apart from *Allah*" (two times), "I bear witness that Mohammad is *Allah's* messenger" (two times). "Rush to prayer" (two times), "Rush to success" (two times), "There is no god apart from *Allah*" (one time).

This seems to be the most commonly practised ritual among Edinburgh's Pakistanis. I did not find a single case where parents did not do *Azan* in the ears of their new-born baby: "if you do not do *Azan* in the baby's ears, then what is the difference between us and the *gorahs*, [the whites]?", said Mrs. M.I. Many of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents believe that the baby understands the meaning of the *Azan* through metaphysical means. Therefore it is considered necessary to whisper the *Azan* in the baby's ears telling her that she is born to a Muslim family and that she is expected to be a Muslim.

News of the birth of the baby is soon conveyed to kin and friends by sending them *laddoos* (a kind of colourful rounded sweets). Just as in Pakistan, relatives come to see the baby, giving her clothes and money ranging from £5 to £30, the amount of which depends on the degree of the closeness of relation between the donor and the baby. It is a common practice in Pakistan to celebrate the baby's birth by sacrificing a sheep or a goat (two for a boy, and one or none for a girl!). This is called *aqiqa*. But very few Pakistani families in Edinburgh perform *aqiqa*. Instead most of these families in Edinburgh send money to relatives in Pakistan to perform *aqiqa*; or they themselves do it when they next visit Pakistan.

The Pakistani baby in Edinburgh is often surrounded by her close relatives. Besides parents, brothers and sisters, the newly-born baby enjoys the care and affection of cousins, uncles and aunts, who may live nearby. She is seldom taken to kindergarten as the mother, usually a housewife, is always around. An unmarried sister or an aunt will normally look after the child when the mother is busy with her housework. Mother and unmarried elder sisters play a major role in transmitting the Islamic Pakistani values to the child. When asked, "From whom did you first learn the fundamentals of Islam?" most boys in the Pilrig "mosque-school" in Edinburgh answered that they learned them from their mothers and/or sisters. Some boys mentioned both parents. The Pakistani child at this stage of socialisation is usually strongly attached to parents particularly to his/her mother. And it is at this period (pre-school 5 or 6 years) that the Pakistani child who lives in a very insulated atmosphere picks up the basics of Islamic beliefs and the fundamental Islamic values at home; he/she is socialised to the Pakistani habits and ways of life.

During this period, the only other children with whom these young British-born Pakistanis interact are their kin and other Pakistani children that they meet during family visits or in some other social gatherings. They, normally, play with and make friends with these boys and girls. Thus, the British-born young children of Pakistani parents in their first 5 or 6 years are brought up in a very insulated Pakistani social and cultural atmosphere - a world that is very different from the world outside; but a world that they have to talk to, listen to and work in. Thus, in order to be able to interact with the wider society these boys are also socialised to its norms and values in the local formal Scottish educational institutions. In fact as these children enter the local Scottish schools they interact more directly with the wider society and learn about its moral and social values through their class-mates, teachers and through the contents of their lessons. It is at this stage that the British-born Pakistani boys in Edinburgh hear about movies, discos, and going out with friends.

It is during the school years that most Pakistani parents impose certain restrictions about the whereabouts of their young children (see Chapter four about Parental Supervision). Normally, parents strongly advise their children to be at home, in their work-place (shop/store etc.) or in the mosque-school after they return from the local school. The occasional failure of some of these children to follow their parents' advice sometimes results in conflict between parents and their children. Some parents told me that going out to movies and discos and socialising with young boys from the indigenous population corrupt their children. But many other parents had other reasons for the restrictive socialisation of their British-born children. A father of two teenage boys told me that:

"To me there is nothing wrong in going out to a movie or even to go out with friends to a disco. When I was young I was used to go to discos on the weekends. But I remember that I was verbally abused and even attacked there. The reason that I discourage my sons from going out to discos and pubs is to avoid trouble".

Another father of three teenage boys and a girl told me of a slightly different reason for the restrictive supervision and strict socialisation of their British-born children:

"I wouldn't mind if my children learn the British way of life and feel as British. This is their country; they will live here for the rest of their life. But what worries us is that they will

not be accepted as British. Then they will be confused about who they are. This is why we bring up our children as much Pakistani as we can. We have to teach our children the Muslim and Pakistani way of life at home and in the mosque. We should be able to convince them that the British will always see them as Pakistanis; so they should remain Pakistanis and be proud of being Pakistanis otherwise, they will be nothing".

These passages clearly indicate that the over emphasis of many Pakistani parents on the strict socialisation of their British-born children to Islamic/Pakistani values is mainly a reaction to their experiences of exclusion in the wider society. Many parents believe that their British-born children will not be accepted as full members of the British Society and so need to develop social and psychological belonging to Islam and Pakistan. Thus the socialisation process of these boys goes beyond the family into the mosque-school.

The mosque-school that is attended by the British born Pakistani boys (and also girls in separate class) five days a week is basically a continuation of the Islamic/Pakistani socialisation process of these children that has started within their families. I will discuss the social organisation, the content of *sabaq*, (Islamic lesson), and discipline in the mosque school in Chapter Three in greater detail. But it is important to mention here that despite several deficiencies of the Mosque-school to create a suitable atmosphere for teaching and explaining Islamic morality, it provides a congenial environment for the socialisation of these children to Islamic beliefs and rituals. That is to say that the boys in the mosque-school are taught the practical procedures of making ablution, making *Azan* (the call for prayer) and the congregational prayers on Fridays, funerals and on Islamic festivals (*Eid-ul-Fiter* and *Eid-ul-Ozha*). Moreover the boys are taught reading of the *Quran* and memorising parts of it that are necessary for praying. This process of socialisation to Islamic rituals enables the young Pakistanis to participate in the community's collective religious/cultural activities. In other words, this socialisation to Islamic beliefs and rituals bonds the British-born Pakistani youngsters to their community's conventional order.[see Chapter Three for further details].

Some parents do not find the socialisation process of their children- at home and in the Mosque-school- sufficient to bond their children to the community's conventional morality because of what they see as the encroachment of Western culture. This has led them to think about another strategy for the socialisation of their children to Islamic values: a growing number of parents send their children to Pakistan when they approach adolescence. These adolescent young boys (and also girls) go to school

and live with members of their extended family in Pakistan, for a few years. When the parents are sure that their children are mature enough to resist influences of the Western culture, they call them back to live and work with them in Scotland. Sometimes, the marriages of these boys are also arranged by their parents in Pakistan and they return with their wives. Six of my students in the Mosque-school have left for Pakistan and four others are due to leave. The intended impact of this new strategy can be seen on some of the boys who returned to Britain: "Pakistan is a better place; people are nice there; houses are bigger than here and people don't call names", I.H. and A.H., two teenage brothers said. But, N.S. who is, now, in his early 20's and who had been to Pakistan for the same purpose, has mixed feelings; "Some things are good in Pakistan and some here. In Pakistan if you don't have money, people don't talk to you, but here whether you are poor or rich you are the same. But here is too much freedom which is no good". Accepting Islamic restrictions and considering certain Western values as "no good" is probably the result of N.S.'s socialisation in Pakistan. Despite his mixed feelings, N.S. seems to prefer the Pakistani way of life. He regularly prays, reads the *Quran* and behaves as a conventional Pakistani young man.

What has been said so far indicates that the Pakistani family in Edinburgh is the major and relatively powerful agency of socialisation of the British born Pakistani children. Because of their fear of the influence of western values over their children in a social and cultural environment where they feel excluded and insecure, parents do not stop at socialising their children to Islamic/Pakistani values in the home. The process extends to the mosque-school and even to Pakistan so that the British-born Pakistani children are adequately bonded to the conventional morality of the Edinburgh's Pakistani community. In order to further back up the basic socialisation process, and to insure obedience to Pakistani/Islamic norms and values, parents are socially and economically in a privileged position to exercise authority, over their British-born children.

Parental Authority And Social Control

As has been mentioned, age-based authority remains an important feature of the Punjabi family both in Pakistan and in Edinburgh. Young members, learn at home, in the Mosque-school and in the community, in general, to obey and respect individuals who are older than them, within the joint family, the *Biraderi* and even in the larger community. Within the family context, this pattern of respect and obedience to elders, particularly to parents is not only followed as a ritual echoed in the general culture, but is considered as a fundamental basis of the social organisation and stability of the joint familial unit. Parents (especially fathers) are especially in a strong position to exercise authority over their children. Parents' authority in this context is generally used to back up the basic socialisation process. It is used as the "legitimate" right of parents to enforce obedience to the norms and values to which the British-born young Pakistanis are socialised. When symptoms of disobedience to parents are felt, children are reminded that disobedience to parents means disobedience to *Allah* which is a big sin. The holy *Quran*, with regard to obedience, kindness and deference to parents advise Muslims in this way:

"And be kind to the parents. When one or both of them attain old age in your life, do not say to them a harsh word nor scold them, but address them in terms of honour. And out of kindness, lower the wing of humility and say, 'my Lord' bestow them mercy just as they cherished me in childhood".

Many Pakistani youngsters who are taught the meaning of the above Quranic advice at home and in the mosque-school, would refrain from disobeying their parents because it is disobedience of *Allah* which is a punishable sin in the other world. However, if the young boys particularly those who are adult continue to disobey their parents and challenge their parents' authority, *Allah's* punishment goes beyond the meaning of mere sin that is punishable in the other world. Parents are empowered to apply part of *Allah's* punishment in this world as well. Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) says: "*Allah* Almighty may pardon all sins as He pleases, except *auqooq* of parents. He rather hastens (to punish) its doer in his life before death." (Abu Bakrah in Al-Baihaqi).

The Arabic term *Auqooq*, as a noun, stands for the continued form of disobedience that is deeply annoying and intolerable to the parents. The right of parents (the father in practice) to exercise *auqooq* has serious social and economic consequences for the 'disobedient' throughout his/her life. The *Aaqq* (the person against whom *auqooq* is exercised) can not, according to Islamic law, inherit his/her father's property;

he/she is socially boycotted within the family; and the label becomes a permanent stigma for the 'disobedient' within the *Biraderi* and in the community.

Surprisingly the Arabic word *auqooq* was unknown to many Pakistani residents in Edinburgh. Nevertheless, they fully understood the fact that parents have the power to deprive their siblings from inheritance. Thus parents not only could use *auqooq* as a threat but sometimes they actually practise it against their disobedient sons. For example N.R., a young man comes from an economically comfortable family. His father Mr. G.R. is a religious and honourable man who runs a small business in Edinburgh. Mr. G.R. seems to be exercising relatively strict control over the family members particularly over his young sons all of whom have educational qualifications. N.R. the oldest among Mr. G.R.'s son had an affair with a Sikh girl without the knowledge of his family members. His relations with the girl finally reached a stage where he decided to marry her. The young man asked for his father's permission to get married to the Sikh girl. But his father categorically refused to allow that to happen. Despite this the young man married the Sikh girl privately. When the family and his father learnt about this, they threw him out of the home; N.R. was told that he had nothing to do with the family's property and was prevented from visiting the family. His younger brother says that since that time they haven't had any relations with him, and we do not know what he does and where he lives.

Though this severe reaction of parents to the disobedience of their sons rarely takes place, the threat of the exercise of *Auqooq* always exists. The youngsters in the community are, generally, aware of this power of their parents; They recognise the religio-economic basis of parents' authority within the family.

Related to the religio-economic basis of parental authority is Pakistani parents' crucial role in the arrangement of their young sons and daughters' marriages. Parents negotiate the whole process of this arrangement. The wishes and likes of young men and women are expressed to the other party in the arrangement of marriages through parents. And, it is also parents who shoulder the (often) huge expenses of the wedding ceremonies/rituals of their young sons and daughters. Hence, as young men and women depend culturally and economically on the vital help of their parents in getting married, the latter are in very privileged position to exercise authority over the former.

Furthermore, to go beyond the religio-socio-economic sources of parental authority, there is another independent economic source for parental authority in the Punjabi

family in Edinburgh. Parents' continued control over the family's property makes its other members, particularly young sons and daughters, economically dependent on them. This is, especially, the case when the parents are rich (not necessarily in the upper class strata). Parents, generally, pay for the education of their sons and daughters, for the expenditure of their marriages, and parents provide the luxuries at home i.e. videos, cars and other modern conveniences. Also, young boys and girls can spend money from the family's common "purse" only with their parents' permission. Thus, because of their control over the family's property, parents have an economic source from where they get the power to exercise authority over their sons and daughters.

It should be mentioned that, the government's social security/unemployment benefits have, to some extent, reduced the economic dependency of some Pakistani boys on their families. Some of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents say that a growing number of Pakistani youngsters in Edinburgh claim these benefits. They say that it is not that these youngsters actually "need" money. But they do so to be less dependent on their parents and, therefore, relatively freer from their control. They complain that the social security/unemployment benefits have given the Pakistani youngsters in Edinburgh a choice to disobey parental authority and to live away from them. The choice to be independent from their family's economic support has facilitated some to rebel against parental authority. They live in Youth Hostels whose rent is paid by the Social Security Department.

However, the overwhelming majority of Edinburgh's Pakistani youngsters seem to have little choice but to accept their parents' authority that has strong, religious, cultural and economic bases. Even in most cases those Pakistani boys who "ran away" from home and lived independently, eventually returned to their parents' home. It seemed that they found it difficult to live comfortably without the social and psychological support of their families. Thus, it can be asserted that few of Edinburgh's Pakistani boys could afford to rebel against their parents' authority.

B: The *Biraderi* : A Social Network Of Kinship/Friendship Relationships

The Concept And Forms Of The *Biraderi*

The Punjabi family, both in Pakistan and in Britain, is closely linked to the institution of *Biraderi*. Just as the Punjabi family is the basic social unit of relationship among parents, their siblings and some other close kin, i.e. grandparents and grand-children, the *Biraderi*, provides a basic framework of social relationships among families and individuals in a broader context of kinship/friendship. Social relationships between various families and individual kin and friends we, in the Punjabi culture, normally organised within the social framework of the *Biraderi*. It is this social framework of kinship/friendship that further lays down the rules of social interaction among members and specifies patterns of social behaviour. For instance, it spells out who will marry who, who to exchange gifts with, who to do favours to, and who to compete with.

The term *Biraderi* is derived from the Persian word for brother. Thus, *Biraderi* literally means brotherhood. Anthropologists and sociologists who have closely studied Punjabi communities both in Pakistan and in Britain have defined the *Biraderi* in the following ways: According to Anwar (1985:62) "The *Biraderi* includes all the men who can trace common ancestor, no matter how remote. It refers to the whole patrilineage and any individual member of it". Similarly Shaw (1988 : 53) defines the *Biraderi* in terms of kinship relationship among its members: "A *Biraderi* is a large kinship group whose members are from the same caste; usually the *Biraderi* is identified by its caste or sub-caste names". Wakil (1970 : 5), on the other hand, says that the *Biraderi* "... is generally an endogamous group of individuals who consider themselves related to each other through blood or marriage".

It appears from the above definitions that a *Biraderi* includes only those individuals who are related to each other through the ties of blood and/or marriage. Defining the *Biraderi* in such general terms confuses the concept with caste as the latter also stands for an endogamous group of people who relate to each other through a common ancestral line. Though most students of Punjabi society (including the above-mentioned authors) accept that membership of a *Biraderi* is not necessarily dependent on blood and/or marital links. This may only imply that the *Biraderi* is different from caste. However, Wakil (1970:5) makes an explicit distinction

between two forms of *Biraderi*, one of which is clearly distinguished from caste. According to Wakil (1970: 6) all those people who relate to each other through blood and/or marriage are automatically members of what he calls a "general" *Biraderi*. In this form of *Biraderi* members have a general sense of belonging to a common extended kinship group or caste; they do not necessarily have face-to-face and reciprocal relationships among themselves. But, whenever some, most or possibly all members of the "general" *Biraderi* get involved in *Lina Dina*, taking and giving, relationship with each other, they become members of what Wakil calls "effective" *Biraderi*. Thus, the existence of institutionalised reciprocity, *Lina Dina*, among members is a necessary condition for the existence of an "effective" *Biraderi*.

As will be discussed later in detail, shared interests and mutual social obligations that result from *Lina Dina* constitute major common ground among members who may not relate to each other through blood and/or marriage. Hence non-kin may become members of an "effective" *Biraderi*. It is the "effective" *Biraderi* that is more visibly prevalent in Edinburgh's Pakistani Community.

Caste And The *Biraderi* In Edinburgh

Edinburgh's Pakistani residents often use the term *Biraderi* in its general sense (social network of kinship relationship) interchangeably with caste. Belonging to a particular caste or an extended endogamous group whose members relate to each other through a common ancestor means belonging to the same "general" *Biraderi* for most of Edinburgh's Pakistanis. In this sense one can only be considered a member of a "general" *Biraderi* when he/she is related to the rest of the members through blood and/or marriage. It is because of this close connection between caste and *Biraderi* that it is important, first, to give a brief description of the various castes to which Edinburgh's Pakistani population belong.

As mentioned in chapter one, the total number of Pakistanis who live as British citizens in Edinburgh and in the Lothian are estimated between 5500 to 6500 individuals. Approximately 90 per cent of this Pakistani population come from Faisalabad district of the Punjab province, in Pakistan. The rest of these people (around 10%) come from various other areas in Pakistan such as Lahore, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Atthak, Sialkot, the North West Frontier Province and Kashmir. The latter category of Edinburgh's Pakistanis belong to different castes/sub-castes such as Rajput, Gujar, Jat, Pathan and Kashmiri. But all of the estimated 90 per cent of Edinburgh's Pakistanis who come from Faisalabad belong to

the Arain (pronounced Arai) caste. Arain is one of the largest castes in the Punjab province, Pakistan. Most Arains originally lived in Jullunder district in the Punjab province of India. After the partition of the former British India in 1947, the Arains who were Muslims migrated to the newly-created state of Pakistan. Many of these Muslim migrants settled in the Faisalabad district, of the Punjab Province, in the predominantly Muslim state of Pakistan. By and large, the Arains engaged in vegetable-growing, gardening and in selling their agriculture products in markets. It is because of this occupational background of the Arains that they are known as vegetable-growers.

The social position of this vegetable-growing caste in the inter-caste hierarchical structure in the Punjab seems to be somewhere, in the lower level of the middle ranking category. According to researchers of the Indo-Pakistani caste systems (see Blunt 1969; Ullah 1957; Eglar 1960; Shaw 1988) the Arain caste is neither among the high-ranking Ashraf (noble) category of castes such as Sayed, Qouraishi, Sheikh, (descendants of Arab rulers) and the Mughul and Pathan (descendants of Moghul and Afghan rulers, respectively). Nor it is among the low-ranking Kami (artisan) Castes/subcastes such as Mirasi/Nai (Barber), Muchi (shoemaker), Kumhar (Potter), Quasi (Butcher) and Tarkan (carpenters/labourers). The Arain caste according to Shaw (1988) is in the lower level of Zamindar (landowner) category that mainly includes Rajput, Jat, Gujar, Dogor and also Arain. Though the Zamindar category is generally considered as middle ranking (between the Ashraf and Kami categories), the more or less exact position of members belonging to a particular caste depends, to a greater extent, on the size of land one possesses. For example, the social position of an Arain who possesses much land may be that of a Zamindar, (landowner). But, the social position of an Arain who possesses little land, or no land, may be equated to that of a simply vegetable-grower and peasant. It is probably because of this ambiguity in the social ranking of the Arain caste in the inter-caste hierarchy in Pakistan that its social position among Edinburgh's Pakistanis remains controversial and contested. A member of the Edinburgh's Pakistani community who belongs to the Arain caste told me that : "The Arain means land-owner. We, the Arains, have big lands in Pakistan. Many people work for us there. In Britain the Arain *Biraderi* is very strong and rich". Indeed many of Edinburgh's Arains are rich, but their caste is not, necessarily, considered as a high-ranking by members of other Punjabi castes in Edinburgh "... all these Arains were poor peasants in Pakistan. They grew vegetables and sold them in Bazaar. We don't have time for these people; they belong to a peasant caste", a non-Arain Pakistani resident in Edinburgh said.

Whatever the claims of members of Edinburgh's various castes, I reached the conclusion that the social ranking of Arains and all other castes is not a static phenomenon: while the collective "ascribed status" (belongs to particular caste) remains important, it is the "achieved status" of families and individuals that plays a more crucial role in ranking them as low, high, or between the two. As will be discussed in the next section an individual/family's social rank and honour were, to a greater extent, evaluated on the basis of their business success, (wealth), professional qualifications, number of men in the family/extended family and on their influence and reputation in the community; the "ascribed" social rank seemed to be only one factor, in this process. Since most of the "achieved" attributes of families and individuals fluctuated from time to time so were the definitions and redefinition of their social ranking in the community. The attributes and criteria for social status and honour will be discussed later. First, it is important to look at the *Biraderi* as a social institution that provides a social framework for complex reciprocal relationships among its participants and the rest of Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

***Lina Dina*, Mutual Obligations, And Social Bonding**

It seems relevant to recall Wakil's (1970) important distinction between "general" and "effective" *Biraderi* for describing the functioning of this institution in Edinburgh. According to Wakil people who belong to the same extended kinship group or caste are also automatically members of the same "general" *Biraderi*. In this case members of a "general" *Biraderi* do not, necessarily, have face-to-face and reciprocal relationship among themselves. But they have a general sense of belonging to a common ancestor. Whenever *Lina Dina*, taking and giving, relationships and their resultant social obligations among some, most or possibly among all members develop, the participants in this complex reciprocity become members of an "effective" *Biraderi*.

There is an empirical basis for the above-mentioned distinction between the two forms of *Biraderi* as applied to Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Members of Edinburgh's various castes are clearly self-conscious of their belongings to their respective castes or "general" *Biraderis*. Though some of Edinburgh's Pakistanis rejected the idea of caste as "unIslamic" and some others belittled its importance, for most it had practical implications. An important practical implication of belonging to a "general" *Biraderi* can be clearly observed in the area of marriage. For example,

Mr. S.M. told me that "I will not allow my two daughters and son to marry outside the Arain *Biraderi*. A few rich Pakistanis wanted to marry my daughter. I refused. I waited until my daughter's marriage was arranged with a boy from our own *Biraderi*, in Glasgow". When I asked Mr. S.M., "but the other Pakistanis are also Muslim; they speak the same language and have the same customs as you do; and they are not from a lower caste", Mr. S.M. replied, "But, they are still different, you know. People from the Arain *Biraderi* are our own people. If my daughter married to another person [outside the Arain caste], their children will not know which caste they belonged to, and this is not good".

Mr. S.M.'s views about caste and the practice of endogamy within it were shared by many other Pakistanis, but some had more flexible attitudes towards caste boundaries:

"I will only prefer my daughter or son to marry someone within my own caste. Nowadays, it is very difficult to find a right partner for one's [marriageable] children in the same caste. I wouldn't mind if my daughter married any Pakistani, even any Muslim" Mr. D.R. said.

Mr. D.R. further added that his *Biraderi* was important to him, but like most of Edinburgh's Pakistanis he was pragmatic:

"... Nowadays, your loyalties lie where your interests are. Some of my best friends are as close to me as people from my *Biraderi*; we lend money to each other, we do business together, we help each other whenever need be. Basically we trust each other. Actually they are now in our *Biraderi*". Mr. D.R. added.

Shared interests and the existence of reciprocal relationships among kin (who belong to the same caste or "general *Biraderi* ") and non-kin constitute "effective" *Biraderi*. Because of the crucial role of shared interests in the existence and functioning of "effective" *Biraderi*, its social boundaries are sufficiently flexible for the inclusion of non-kin. There have been several cases among Edinburgh's Pakistanis where (Pakistani) neighbours, partners in business and/or in political/religious ideology, and close friends were accepted in to 'effective" *Biraderis* that were originally based on a different caste from those of their "new" members. It seemed that the strength of shared interests, reciprocal relationships and interdependence among members often kept the "effective" *Biraderi* functioning. Close and trusting relationships among members of "effective" *Biraderi* (who are from different castes) have sometimes led

to inter-caste marriages in Edinburgh. Thus, "effective" *Biraderi* in the context of the present study is a social institution where members have close and complex reciprocal relationships in a kinship/friendship framework.

Though the role of belonging to a common kinship remains important in this form of *Biraderi*, it is the reciprocal relationships among members or participants that are crucial. In fact reciprocity is a necessary condition for the existence and functioning of the "effective" *Biraderi*. But, what is reciprocity in this particular social/cultural context?; and how does it work?

Reciprocity in the context of the "effective" *Biraderi* is locally referred to as *Lina Dina*, or taking and giving – a taking and giving of gifts, favours/services and feasts among members of "effective" *Biraderi* who are strongly expected to reciprocate. It must be mentioned, though, that giving gifts, doing favours and invitations for meals might take place among any Pakistanis in Edinburgh, at any time without such expectations of return. This may ordinarily happen among friends; or gifts may be given to certain prominent individuals as a sign of respect and appreciation of their knowledge and social/religious status in the community. For example, the gifts that were given to *Hafiz Sahib* (the *Imam* or the Muslim priest of The Mosque) were clearly not intended to be returned; they were a sign of respect for *Hafiz Sahib's* status as an *Imam*, and a teacher of Islamic teachings in the community. (I was also given gifts by parents of the boys that I taught in the Mosque, without any expectation to reciprocate).

However, there are certain socially recognised occasions on which taking and giving of gifts have particular symbolic meanings and important social consequences for both the donors and for the recipients. These social occasions are mainly birth of a baby (mostly baby-boy), arrival of *Haji* pilgrim from Mecca, and weddings. On the occasion of the birth of new baby, close kin and friends pay visits to the baby's parents' home to say *Mubarak o*, congratulations. When they are shown the newly-born baby, then the visitors give money (ranging from £5 to £30), suits for the baby, and other things that may be used for the baby and/or her mother's well-being. Sometimes, money and gifts are given when the baby-boy is circumcised. Similarly on the arrival of the *Haji* from pilgrimage of Mecca, close kin and friends and also distant kin and other people visit him/her to say *Khosh Amadid*, Welcome. But, on this occasion, it is the *Haji* who gives gifts to his/her visitors. The *Haji's* gifts normally include wrist-watches, prayer-mats, prayer-caps, *Tasbih* (prayer beads) and *Abi-Zam Zam* (water of a sacred spring/well in Mecca). The quality and value of

these gifts almost always depended on the extent of the closeness of relationship between the *Haji* and the recipient and also on the existence of reciprocity among them. The recipients of the gifts, on both occasions, are strongly expected to reciprocate what they received when the appropriate occasion arrives.

Alongside of these two occasions, the third and the most important and elaborate occasion for taking and giving of gifts, particularly among members of the "effective" *Biraderi*, is wedding. Weddings among Edinburgh's Pakistanis are considered as one of the most important and happiest social occasions on which close and distant kin and friends (including those in Pakistan) are invited to attend an often lavish and ceremonial reception which is normally given by the groom's family. At a certain point during the wedding ceremony kin, friend and also some other participants give gifts and money to the bride. The more expensive gifts are given by close kin (i.e. maternal and paternal uncles and aunts and cousins etc.) and close friends of the groom and the bride with whom they have a *Lina Dina* relationship in the framework of an "effective" *Biraderi*. On one wedding occasion in Edinburgh the more expensive gifts included expensive wrist-watches, a washing machine, a microwave and many Pakistani traditional suits (*shalwar-kamis*). Other friends and kin (mainly women) gave sets of kitchen utensils to the wedding parties (mainly to the bride), whereas others gave them cash ranging from £10 to £50. Then, importantly enough, during the wedding ceremony all the gifts given by kin and friends were publicly displayed. In this public display, the exact quality and value of every gift by individual kin/friends (or by a family) was announced. The groom's mother or sister took a written (or mental) note of every present given by every kin/friend. This is because the quality/value of every gift given by a particular individual conveys specific messages to the recipient(s) and to the various actors involved, in this social process. Therefore, the taking and giving of gifts, on this social occasion, has specific rules that must be cleverly and carefully followed.

First of all, it should be mentioned that the donors and the recipients, (particularly of expensive gifts) normally have an established relationship of *Lina Dina* among themselves. This is to say that the donor (an individual or the whole family) is someone who returns a gift similar to the one he/she received from the recipient in the past. But, what is even more important as a rule, in this context, is that the donor makes sure that his/her gift is not less or equal in value and quality from what was received (see Shaw 1988; Werbner 1990). The donor according to his/her written or mental regards, carefully chooses such a gift that "acceptably" exceeds what he/she received in the past. When I asked Mrs. N.A. why gifts should not be less

or equal from what one received in the past, she said that : "A cheaper gift than what you were given means that you look down on that person [the recipient]. You don't appreciate the gift that you were given". Though this rarely happens when it does bad feelings on the part of the recipient do follow. This further leads to gossip and to the reputation of the donor as *kanjoos* (miser) in the community which has serious consequences for his *Izzet*. Future *Lina Dina* relationship between the two partners are often deemed to be affected. But why cannot gift not be "equal" to what the donor received in the past? Mrs. N.A. says that, "... This means that take what you gave me, and that is it – we stop *Lina Dina*". In fact, I found out that the message that the "equal" gift sends was not as straightforward as Mrs. N.A. described. The receiving party of the "equal" gift, later, investigates the real intention of its donor. An "equal" gift would mean stopping *Lina Dina* only when the donor explicitly or implicitly indicates this at a later time. But then, what is the "appropriate" gift that sends the "right" message to the recipient(s), and to the other parties involved?

The "appropriate" gift is only a gift that is "acceptably" higher in its value/quality from what the present donor received. It is a gift that sends a clear message of the continuation of *Lina Dina* relationship between the recipient(s). This is because the present donor by reciprocating what he/she received, not only meet his/her obligation to the present recipient, but the added value of the gift puts the under a renewed obligation to return the gift on an appropriate occasion. Additions to new gifts in future create new obligations and this, in turn, keeps *Lina Dina* continuing indefinitely. In this way *Lina Dina* is a continuous process that bonds the donor and the recipient (who periodically alternate their roles as donor and recipient) to each other through mutual obligations.

The public display of all the gifts that are given to the bride and groom, and the announcement of who gave what in the wedding ceremony, indicates that the gift-giving is not only an important symbolic communication between the donor and the recipient. More importantly, it is also a communication between the donors, themselves, and between all the "active" parties involved, and the rest of the apparently "passive" community. The communicative function of gift-giving (in a wedding) among the various donors is even more complex and multi-dimensional than that among the donors and the recipient(s) of the gift. In this situation, the various donors, by giving away expensive gifts, not only send messages of respect, and of continuing *Lina Dina*, to the recipient(s). The various donors, by the very acts of their generosity also wage a selfish war against each other – a war of "gift-fighting", of showing off wealth, and of claims of generosity. The various close kin

and friends, particularly, those who have established recent relationship of *Lina Dina* (through marriage and/or close friendship) with the "effective" *Biraderi* of which the bride's in-laws are members, compete more intensely to "score points"! Unfortunately, this "fight of gifts" is one of those fights where "money speaks" and even fights!. Hence, those who have more money and spend it lavishly by giving away expensive gifts are the ultimate winners. While this winning of the "fight of gifts" enhances the social status of the donor of the expensive gift, it at the same time causes humiliation for those donors who fight the later, but cannot afford to give expensive gifts.

Thus, in order to prevent personal and family humiliation, even the competitors with comparatively "less" money, do their best to give away a gift that is at least equal to the gifts of those they compete with. When I asked Mr. A.H. a recently-married young man (but not very rich), about the reasons for spending £260 on a gift for the wedding of his wife's sister, he said that "Well, this is the custom, you know; it is our custom; what else I can say". But, Mr. A.H.'s father who was sitting nearby interfered and added in a slightly raised voice that "He [Mr. A.H.] is now the son-in-law of Z.K. He has to play the game as they (Mr. Z.K. and his *Biraderi*) play it". The young man's father did not seem happy about his son's expensive gift, but, he could not disapprove of it either. This is because, both the young donor and his father knew well that in the "fight of gifts", the young competitor particularly, has to prove that he is not less than anyone else; by giving an expensive gift he sends the message, that he is, at least, as equal member as any one else in his new "effective" *Biraderi*. This kind of competition, in the "fight of gifts", among kin/friends often leads to open rivalries, jealousies and, even to feuds among them. Thus, gift-giving, on this narrower level, has divisive effects.

It may seem ironic then that the competition among donors who are members of the same "effective" *Biraderi* results in their solidarity and co-operation with the recipient(s) and among themselves on a different level. Competition in gift-giving result in a greater number of expensive gifts for the bride, and this indicates the wealth and solidarity of a particular *Biraderi* vis. a vis. other *Biraderis*. It is at this level where the donor and the recipient(s) together send the message of their solidarity to rival *Biraderis* and to the rest of the Pakistani community in Edinburgh. Through the display of their wealth and solidarity they jointly compete for a superior social standing of their *Biraderi* in the community. They make a claim of leadership. In this way gift-giving becomes a powerful mechanism of symbolic communication, not only among the donors and recipients, and among the various

donors themselves, but also among all of the actors involved and the rest of apparently "passive" community. The communication among members of an "effective" *Biraderi* and "others" in the community becomes even sharper when the sphere of *Lina Dina* goes beyond gift-giving to making favours/provision of services, and to closer co-operation in business among members of the "effective" *Biraderi* and to inter-marriages within this close-knit group of kinsmen and friends. Thus, a "balanced" and "fair" institutionalised *Lina Dina* (taking and giving in gifts, favours services, and inter-marriages) strongly bonds the members in the framework of the "effective" *Biraderi* – a close-knit group of kinsmen and friends who relate to and identify with each other.

It should be mentioned that the close-knit nature of the "effective" *Biraderi* is partly a response of Pakistanis in Edinburgh to their sense of social and psychological insecurity in the wider society. The reactive element in the creation (or recreation) of close-knit *Biraderis* was clearly observable in the speech by a community leader:

"In this country our *Biraderi* is stronger than it was in Pakistan. Here we need the *Biraderi* more than in Pakistan. The *Biraderi* will protect you from racial bullying and harassment; the *Biraderi* will help you if you have trouble with the Police; the *Biraderi* will look after you when you are sick; and who else will bury you in an Islamic way when you die? In the *Biraderi* you are safe".

The strong emphasis of Edinburgh's Pakistanis on the establishment of close and strong *Biraderi* relationships and the extent of the intensity of the exchange of gifts, favours and services and their related rituals and ceremonies among *Biraderi* members indicate that this social institution is not merely a part of the culture of these migrants that "migrated" with them to Britain. The close-knit *Biraderi* relationships among members are partly their response to their social, cultural and political exclusion from the wider society and to their sense of insecurity.

The present analysis clearly shows that an individual and a family among Edinburgh's Pakistanis has a strong social bond and a sense of belonging to the "effective" *Biraderi*. But, this does not negate the fact that the same individual and families also have a sense of belonging to their respective "general" *Biraderi* and to the wider Pakistani community in Edinburgh. The division of Edinburgh's Pakistani population into various *Biraderi* has led to rivalries and sometimes to irrational competition among them. But, the very fact that the different *Biraderis* compete against each other shows that they share a common culture, rules, and ethos of competition.

People often compete with those whom they take seriously. Competition is only a different form of communication.

Thus, *Lina Dina* (taking and giving of gifts etc.) as a powerful mechanism of communication among members of an "effective" *Biraderi* (on a primary group level) and among members of various *Biraderis* (on a secondary group level) keep all/most of close and the relatively distant participants socially bonded to one social and moral order - a social and moral order of a community whose sense of solidarity is further strengthened by its members' experiences of exclusion in the wider British society (see Chapter I Part II); and, hence, of a community that is, in the process of becoming a small-scale society within the wider society (see Chapter I Part III). In sociological terms it is a community where members are socially interdependent and bonded to each other ; and it is this type of community that provide a suitable framework for, *Izzet*, honour (and dishonour) to operate as an effective mechanism of social control.

Izzet And Social Control

In their ordinary conversations with members of family, kin and friends many of Edinburgh's Pakistanis, particularly, the first generation male, often use a standard Urdu sentence: "*Izzet Ki Bat Hi*". It means that "It is a matter of honour" (or family honour). When Mr. G.H. a wealthy Pakistani businessman found out that his 21 year old son, I.H. regularly attended a casino for gambling, he told his son: "... I don't mind you losing or winning money in the casino; I know that you have great fun there which is alright. But, the problem is that when people see you in the casino they will tell everybody in the community that look G.H.'s son is gambling. This will give me, you and our family a very bad name". Then Mr. G.H. immediately said "*Izzet Ki Bat Hi*", it is a matter of honour (or family honour). I.H. often won money in the casinos and addictively attended them on weekends. He also understood the meaning and importance of his father's short but powerful Urdu sentence "*Izzet Ki Bat Hi*". Indeed, it was the power of the meaning of this standard Urdu sentence that stopped him attending casinos in Edinburgh. Instead, he drove many miles to casinos in other Scottish cities/towns. He did so because he believed that in these cities/towns he ran little risk to be seen by other Pakistani acquaintances who would gossip that he is a gambler. According to I.H., initially "The strategy worked". But after a period of time he gave up attending casinos, altogether "It was too much hassle to drive all the way to..."

Similarly, when R.N. failed his first year university exams, his father, F.N. who is a professional, told him: "... You should not be so lazy. In this community you ought to be either very rich or highly educated. Otherwise you are nothing. If you don't get the degree, this will bring a bad name to all the family". Then Mr. F.N. completed his advice/warning by the standard Urdu sentence "*Izzet Ki Bat Hi*", it is a matter of (family) honour. Interestingly failure in the exams of higher educational institution and dropping out often causes a lasting stigma for the individual concerned that also affect his/her relatives. Many of Edinburgh's Pakistanis not only associate dropping out from an institution of higher education as an indicator of laziness but, more importantly an indicator of lack of intelligence that affects an individual/family's *Izzet*, negatively. Thus it may be due to the anxiety and the pressure of losing *Izzet* that made R.N. work harder and finally got his university degree.

Pakistani parents in Edinburgh, use "*Izzet Ki Bat Hi*" on countless other occasions too. For instance, when parents suspect (or actually find out) that their unmarried

sons and daughters may be having pre-marital affairs, or that they (particularly daughters) "Go out" with someone, parents warn them that what they are doing is not a simple personal matter; but it is a matter of family honour: "*Izzet Ki Bat Hi*". Similarly, parents use the sentence when their children wear "unconventional clothes" (i.e. earrings by boys and "indecent" western clothes by girls) or go to pubs, discos and drink alcohol. In some cases this sentence is used when one's personal dignity and individuality is threatened/attacked by abusive language or disrespect.

The British-born Pakistanis learn the meaning and importance of this concept *Izzet* at home, in the mosque-school and in the community at large. When I asked a sample of 60 Pakistani boys in the Pilrig mosque community centre "How important is the idea of family *Izzet* (honour) to you, personally?" the responses were as follows: about two third (63.3%) of the boys said that the idea of family *Izzet* is "extremely important" to them, and a little less than a third (30%) of them said that it was "fairly important" to them, only 5% of these British-born Pakistani boys said that the idea of family *Izzet* is "not very important" to them, whereas a negligible minority (1.7%) said that it was "unimportant" to them. These results indicate that *Izzet* or family *Izzet* is a well-established theme across generations among Edinburgh's Pakistan population.

But now, the question is that what does the concept of *Izzet* exactly mean for an average Pakistani in Edinburgh; and what makes people *izzetdar*, honourable? *Izzet* meant various but similar things to Edinburgh's Pakistanis. The words and phrases with which they equated *Izzet* mainly included: "Honour" (family honour), "Good Name", "Good Reputation", "Respect", "Social Status", and "Dignity". Some members of the community said that the concept meant to them "piety", "decency" and control over the behaviour of women in the family/joint-family.

However, the closest synonym to *Izzet*, (originally an Arabic word), appeared to be honour. *Izzet* or honour often carried a collectively-oriented meaning i.e. family honour, or the honour of the *Biraderi*. Interestingly, the above mentioned conceptions of honour are very similar to those of the Mediterranean people in general. (see Campbell 1954; Pitt-Rivers 1965, Peristieny 1965; Bailey 1971; Happenstall 1971; Codd 1971; Gilmore 1982; Delaney 1982).

The meaning of *Izzet* as honour, or family honour, is closely linked to its constituent elements. The most important element of *Izzet* for Edinburgh's Pakistanis were:

belonging to a higher caste (see pp for the hierarchy of castes); a large number of men in the family/extended family (in Britain, Pakistan or elsewhere); social/political influence in Britain and/or in Pakistan; higher professional qualification; reputation of honesty and religiosity; generosity; finally and more importantly wealth and business success. But the existence of larger number of these elements without others did not necessarily constitute *Izzet*. For example, in one case a person qualified all the above attributes of *Izzet* except wealth. Because he did not have enough money to contribute to the community's charities and to reciprocate invitations and gifts he even lost the social influence that he basically derived from his influential family in Pakistan. People often joked about his old car and his small flat. In other cases individuals who qualified all the above-mentioned constituent elements of *Izzet* (including wealth), but lacked generosity were not considered as *Izzetdar* (honourable) in the community. Instead, they had a bad reputation of being *kanjoos* (miser). Thus, wealth and generosity must have existed alongside the other above-mentioned elements to constitute *Izzet*. In fact possession of wealth and its spending for public causes compensates for the relative lack of some of the other socially/morally oriented elements of *Izzet*, such as religiosity and belonging to high caste. One member of the community who commented on the current "formal" leaders of the community said: "If you are rich you can buy *Izzet*". Buying *Izzet*, in this context, meant contribution of relatively larger amount of money to building a mosque, to the funeral/burial of kin/friends, contributing to charities and to other public causes. In these ways and by helping and making financial favours to members of the community, the wealthy and "generous" Pakistanis seemed to have influenced public opinion in their favour. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, *Izzet* is much more than mere social influence produced by wealth and generosity. It is the community's evaluation of the claimants of *Izzet* against the complex package of its various intricately interwoven elements. Thus it may be said that *Izzet*, in this context is an individual/group's perception of its social standing as it is seen and evaluated by the community.

I will return to the importance of *Izzet* as an agent of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community shortly. But, first it is important to know how members of the community communicated the fluctuating degrees of its members' *Izzet*. The central mechanism of evaluating community members and their *Izzet* is gossip. As social anthropological research in other cultures show, gossip plays important role in creating cognitive maps about individuals' social identities and reputations, both in small-scale rural communities and in complex urban social settings:

"Gossip does provide essential information on personal identities, however. It indicates who is trustworthy, who is drug addict, who is a gossip, who one can let into one's house, and who will 'use' the opportunity to "case" it for a burglary... it can undermine the credibility of leaders and those aspiring to power".

(Merry 1981:2) (see also Compbell 1964; Hotchkiss 1967; Bailey 1971; Pitt-Rivers 1971; Doo 1973; Wilson 1974; Nee and deBary 1974; Merry 1979; 1981).

Despite the fact that the Edinburgh's Pakistani community is geographically scattered in a relatively large city, the high degree of social/cultural connectedness and interdependence among members, make it possible for gossip to operate effectively. Kin/friends often share information and evaluate people's behaviour during their gatherings, for the Friday prayer (Jom'a), dinner parties, weddings and during the numerous celebration of cultural/religious events. But, the most important means for the flow of gossip in the community is a product of modern technology: The telephone. Mr. I.H. whose case about the attendance of casinos was mentioned earlier wishes that the British Telecom did not exist at all! "... Even about a small matter, people would phone each other in the evenings. Then everybody would give his own opinion about the damn thing; and they would blow up a small matter" I.R. complained, about the malicious nature of gossip in the community.

Malicious or not, people feared gossip because it often involved judgement about their *Izzet* in the community. As mentioned at the beginning of this section it was the threat of damage to his family *Izzet* that stopped I.R. from attending the casino, and induced anxiety, in R.N. not to fail again in his exams at university. So, why is *Izzet* so crucially important for Edinburgh's Pakistanis that it operates as a powerful mechanism of social control in the community?

The obvious answer is that *Izzet* is a very precious social asset of a Pakistani individual/family that is very dearly won.(see this Chapter). Further and more importantly a certain degree of *Izzet* is "required" for membership of an equal standing with the other members of the community – a fellow Muslim and Pakistani. Of course some people may be more *Izzetdar* (honourable), than others. But not having a certain degree of *Izzet* or its complete loss is *Bizati* (honourlessness). *Bizati* is a serious humiliation and disgrace. The *Bizat*, an honourless individual is not necessarily excluded from membership of the community. But his is a membership of the less equal and the less respectable. The *Bizat* is not greeted with full warmth, he/she is spoken to less politely and not listened to carefully.

Interestingly, the *Bizat* is often invited to dinner parties, to weddings and to other social gatherings. This dual treatment "displays" a "negative example" (see Bailey 1971) of *Izzet* to the rest of the members of the community. However, these negative examples whose "deviations" are forgivable, are often pressurised to refrain from disreputable activities and to get re integrated to the community. One young man who broke his engagement that was arranged by his parents said that;

"Not only my parents, but cousins, uncles, aunts and even my granny would repeat that I have done something very bad and shameful. Every body would tell me that '*Izzet ki bat hi*' [It is a matter of family honour]; and that I should be engaged again with the same girl. Life became so hard for me that I wish I was able to escape, from here. Finally I had to accept what they wanted. Then everybody was again O.K. with me".

This might be an example of what Braithwaite (1989) calls "re-integrative shaming": shaming of the offender, which is followed by re-accepting him into the community. However, in some cases an insensitive and non-compliant *Bizat* may be labelled as *Bisharm Adami* (shameless person). In several and repetitive cases of "deviance" that inflict irreparable damages on *Izzet*, the concerned individual is labelled *Bisharm Adami*. It is attributed to prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.) as saying that: "If you do not have shame, then you are free to do whatever you want to do".

The *Bisharm Adami* is not only looked down on, but he/she is avoided. He/she is not invited to important dinner parties, weddings, and to other social gatherings. More importantly, he is not trusted as a partner in business, and in other transactions. The prospects of his marriage (if single) and/or of his close marriageable male and female kin, within the community, become bleak. The *Bisharm Adami* is also excluded from taking social and political positions within the community. He/she is not only a less than "equal" and "respectable" member, but is an "outsider" to the community. Precisely because of this reason, it is very difficult to find a *Bishram Adami*, in person, within the community. But he/she profoundly exists in the collective "mind" of the community and in the minds of its individual members as an extreme example of *Bizati* (honourlessness). People fear to be labelled as *Bishram Adami* and the social consequences of this label. It is a fear that has important implications for social control in the community.

In sum, *Izzet* operates as a mechanism of social control among Edinburgh's Pakistani community, because it qualifies individuals for equal and respectable membership of the community. Those who lack *Izzet* or lose it, lose equal and respectable

membership of the community; in some cases, they even may be totally excluded from the community. For most Pakistanis in Edinburgh the social and psychological costs of losing respectable membership of their community (or exclusion from it) is always too high to pay.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MOSQUE AND THE P.A.E.E.S.

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main parts: the mosque and the "Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and the East of Scotland" (P.A.E.E.S.), the two other social institutions that operate as agencies of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. In the first part a general historical account of the institutionalisation of Islamic religious life in Edinburgh, with a particular focus on the Pilrig mosque, is given. Then the social organisation of the *Sabaq*-class within the Pilrig mosque and its role in the socialisation of the British-born Pakistani children to Islamic beliefs and rituals is examined in detail. After analysing the social consequences of the *sabaq*-class for the social bonding of Pakistani children, the discussion focuses on congregational worships and the celebration of religious festivals and the ways their related sermons and rituals create a sense of community among the participants.

Since most of the institutionalised activities within the mosque (and in the community) are broadly organised by the "Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and East of Scotland" (P.A.E.E.S.), the latter is discussed, in the second part of the chapter, where its formal organisational structure, functions and aims are examined. The bases of social power of the Association, the exercise of authority by its "Office-Bearers" and its implication for social control in the community are analysed.

A: The Mosque

The Institutionalisation Of Islam In Edinburgh.

In the early 1950s there were less than ten Muslim families (about 64 adults) in Edinburgh. They did not have an organised religious life. If they prayed, every person did so individually at home or/and at the workplace. There were no arrangements for the weekly "*Jom'a*" prayer (Friday congregational prayer) or for the two annual prayers of *Eid-ul-Fiter* and of *Eid-ul-Ozha* [the occasions of the end of Ramadan and the day of pilgrimage in Mecca respectively]. These families gathered for celebration of such important religious occasions at the residences of individual families, mainly at the residence of Haji Ali Mohammad, at 19 Clarence Street.

However, the increasing contacts between these Muslim residents and the overseas Muslim students at Edinburgh University led to a new development: a request to the University authorities to provide a place for *Eid* prayer and another for the arrangements of *Halal* (mainly meat prepared according to Islamic rituals) food for its Muslim students. The request was accepted. The students (and other Muslims) were given free access to use Adam House of Edinburgh University for *Eid* prayer. The authorisation also provided them freely with a place at the University's premises on Lothian Street, so that their need for *Halal* food could be looked after. This place for *Halal* food, later, became famous as Khoshi Mohammad restaurant, named after its owner/manager.

With Adam House as an ad-hoc hall for *Eid* prayers and Khoshi Mohammad restaurant as a centre for Muslims' eating and gathering, this state of affairs continued until 1964. By this time, according to the early Muslim migrants, there were more than 70 Muslim families and a larger number of Muslim students in Edinburgh. The need for an organised body to cater for the religious, social and cultural requirements of this new Muslim entity in Edinburgh was strongly felt by its individual members. Consequently, this situation gave birth to the "Association for Pakistani Residents". The new-born Association was temporarily based inside Khoshi Mohammad restaurant with Haji Ali Mohammad, a prominent social figure, its first chairman. The Association, aware of the urgent need of the growing Muslim population for an organised religious life continued its efforts to find a suitable place for collective worship, as a first step in meeting these needs. In 1967-68 the Association with the combined efforts of the Muslim students in Edinburgh acquired premises at 12

Roxburgh Street from Edinvar Association on a rental basis; The rent was very negligible.

With the appointment of Hafiz Abdul Karim as an Imam (Islamic priest) to lead the five daily prayers and more importantly the *Jom'a* prayer on Fridays, 12 Roxburgh St. was established as the first Mosque in Edinburgh. Though the two storey building with a basement was not structurally designed for the requirements of a Mosque, it served the purpose on a "something is better than nothing" basis, as a founder of the mosque put it. But, in fact the same structure soon had become more than "something": a Mosque, a Mosque-school, a place for the celebration of social and religious occasions, for the arrangements of Muslim funerals, and finally a meeting place for Edinburgh's Muslim population. With all these functions of the newly established Mosque a stronger emphasis was placed on its role as the (only) centre of Islamic teachings (particularly for young children) in Edinburgh. By 1970 this place was known as the "Mosque and Islamic Centre". As an active social, educational, welfare and religious institution for the increasing Muslim population, the Mosque soon became too small for the *Jom'a* prayer and so it was performed in a big hall at Haji Ali Mohammad's business premises (opposite to the Surgeon's Hall).

The early 1970s, witnessed a sudden increase in Edinburgh's Muslim population. In 1972-73 Uganda's Idi Amin decided to expel all Asians from the country who, consequently, migrated to different parts of the world, mainly to the U.S.A., Canada and to the U.K. Some of them arrived in Edinburgh. Also, the oil boom of 1973 brought an unprecedented wealth to much of the Middle East. Some young students from these oil-rich nations decided to invest "oil-money" in higher education in the West European universities. As a result, a large number of Arab (mainly) Muslim students arrived in the U.K and in Edinburgh to acquire higher and professional qualifications.

In the wake of these developments, in 1973 a decision was taken to build a central mosque in Edinburgh. With modest donations from Edinburgh's Pakistani businessmen and other Pakistani residents in the city, the major financial contributions, to this project were made by Saudi Arabian princes and by the Madina Islamic University in Saudi Arabia. Consequently, with the joint Saudi-Pakistani donations land for the construction of the planned central mosque was purchased at Minto Street. But an application for the construction of a mosque on that particular piece of land failed; the city's local authority did not give Edinburgh's Muslim

residents permission for the construction of a mosque. As a result the land was sold at a loss of £10,000.

After this the initiative to choose a place for the construction of the central mosque was mainly in the Arabs' hands. It was emphasised that land for the planned mosque should be situated near Edinburgh University so that the Muslim students could have easy access to it. In 1980 the present site at Potter Row (separated from the Appleton Tower by a narrow street) was purchased. By this time, because of some differences among the Pakistani and the Arabs over the management of the fund, the two groups split. Consequently, the 12 Roxburgh St. Mosque (or Mosque and Islamic Centre) became a Pakistani dominated Mosque, whereas the standing building on the newly purchased land at Potter Row an Arab dominated one. However, the domination was/is never exclusive: some Pakistanis pray and attend meetings and religious festivals in Potter Row and some Arabs pray and attend religious festivals in the Roxburgh Mosque; there are occasions in which all get together.

In 1985, the Pakistani population of the Roxburgh Mosque also had some disagreements over the use of some charity funds. This induced the leading members of the Pakistan Association to convert the Pakistan Community Centre (Zetland Hall, 11 Pilrig Street) into a Mosque and Community Centre by the end of 1985. The Mosque in this complex was named *Markazi Jamia Masjid-i-Anwar-i-Madina* (central grand mosque of the lights of Madina). It also houses the offices of the Pakistan Association for Edinburgh and the East of Scotland which represents the majority of the city's Pakistani population.

With this short background of the institutionalisation of religious life in Edinburgh's Muslim community, now all the three Mosques/Islamic Centres (the Mosque and Islamic Centre on 12 Roxburgh Street; The Central Mosque and Islamic Centre at Potter Row and the *Markazi Jamia Masjid-i-Anwar-i-Madina* at 11 Pilrig Street) are actively catering for the social, religious, welfare and educational needs of the community. Moreover, there is a fourth *Madrassa* (school of Islamic education) for children at Temple Park called *Madrassa-i-Ta'lim-ul Quran* in Edinburgh. It is very likely that the school will soon function as a Mosque as well. At present, it caters for the religious socialisation of Muslim children in that area.

It should be mentioned that the overwhelming majority of Edinburgh's Muslim population are *Sunni* Muslims, and therefore all the above mentioned Islamic institutions entirely follow the *Sunni* school. However, a small number of *Shiite* is

Muslims (the mainstream *Ja'faries*); as well as the followers of *Ismaili*, the *Bahaie* and the *Ahamadi* sects live in Edinburgh. There is almost no interaction between Edinburgh's *Sunni* Muslims and the last three sects, whereas the *Ja'faries* worshipped in the *Sunni* Mosques prior to getting their own Mosque in mid-1989. Since the overwhelming majority of Edinburgh's Muslims follow *Sunni* Islam, and since there are no significant differences in the belief system and the structure of prayers in the three *Sunni* Mosques, I focus only on the Pilrig Mosque which is attended by over 60% of Pakistani Muslims who are permanent residents in Edinburgh.

The Pilrig Mosque/Community Centre:

The Pilrig Mosque and community centre is commonly called, simply, The Pilrig Mosque. It occupies a corner of a large residential apartment that is situated in a working-class area, on 11 Pilrig Street, Leith, Edinburgh. The corner houses the Mosque (*Markazi Jamia Masjid-I-Anwar-I-Madina*), the offices of the "Pakistan Association for Edinburgh and the East of Scotland" and the *Hafiz Sahib's* (Muslim priest who knows all of the Holy Koran by heart) flat. The offices of the Association, with a large meeting hall and *Hafiz Sahib's* flat are on the first floor; the women's room (for worship and Islamic education), and another small room for worship and the women's *Wozu Khana* (place for ablution and toilets) are situated on the ground floor. In the basement, there are the men's *Wozu Khana*, a big kitchen, a storage room and a large main hall which is the actual Mosque.

With a capacity for more than 300 worshippers at a time, the hall is decorated with framed verses from the holy *Quran*, names of *Allah*, and the prophet and of Islamic Khalifs. The hall is also decorated with the portrait of *Harmain*, the most sacred Mosques in Mecca and Madina where the *Ka'aba* and the tomb of the Prophet Mohammed (P.B.U.H.) are situated, respectively. It is also decorated with framed verses from the holy *Quran*. One of the verses says: "Those who trust in *Allah*, He almighty finds solutions (for their problems)". Another says: "*Allah* is the greatest guardian and He is the most merciful".

As in all *Jamia* Mosques (where the *Jom'a* Friday prayer is performed) there is a *Mihrab* (a niche in the wall which shows the direction of Mecca). On the left side of the *Mihrab* is *Minber* (a kind of staircase with three steps from where the Imam preaches). The *Mihrab* is situated opposite the worshippers who all face the direction of the *Ka'aba*, the holy house in Mecca. Though unique to this Mosque, there is

another stage at the other end of the hall. This stage resembles very much the modern western-style stages in public halls from where speakers deliver their speeches. The community leaders and the chief guest(s) also sit on the stage facing the audience. It is used for non-worshipping socio-religious and cultural occasions where there are more than one speaker to address the audience. In the hall, all the people whether on the stage or not sit on the ground which is covered with a comfortable carpet.

Almost all members of this religious community are permanent residents in Edinburgh and predominantly come from the Punjab province (even from the same districts: Faisalabad and Sahiwal). The socio-religious atmosphere in the Pilrig Mosque is very stable and there is a high degree of face to face relationships among the people. Unlike the Potter Row and Roxburgh Mosques where a predominantly mobile student population who come from different parts of the Muslim world meet and worship for the period of their study, the Pilrig Mosque is a comparatively permanent socio-religious community. Because it is situated in an area that is relatively far from the centre of the city, non-Pakistani and casual worshippers are rarely seen in the Mosque. Again, unlike the Potter Row and (to some extent) Roxburgh Mosques, members of Pilrig Mosque are predominantly followers of the traditionalist version (or sect) of *Sunni* Islam with a typical (Indian) sub-continental character. Its followers simply call this school of thought *Sunni* or *Ahli-s-Sunnah Wal-Jama'ah*. It is sometimes called (especially by rival *Sunni* groups) *Barelvi*. The latter name comes from Ahmed Raza Khan a *Sunni* Muslim scholar who lived in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century at Bareilly, in Uttar Pradesh, India. The *Barelvi* or *Ahli-s-Sunnah Waljama'ah* sect in Edinburgh is a populist-traditionalist version of *Sunni* Islam which is less interested in Islamic political activism and militancy. To a significant extent it is infused with 'Sufism' (Islamic mysticism) and with ideas about the mystical powers of saints and even of their shrines. The followers of this Islamic sect place strong emphasis on traditional Islamic values and rituals and the socialisation of their British-born sons and daughters to these values.

***Sabaq*: Socialisation Toward Islamic Beliefs And Rituals**

The Concept Of *Sabaq*

At the start of my field work I met three young Pakistani boys while walking in the area of Leith Walk near Pilrig Street. I asked them if they were also going to the Pilrig Mosque. They happily answered: "Yes, we are going there; we are going to our *Sabaq*. I accompanied the three young boys (interestingly, all the three were brothers of ages 10, 11 and 13) and we talked about *Sabaq* until we reached the gate of our common destination, the Pilrig Mosque. Before we entered the Mosque, one of my companions asked two other boys (who were incidentally also brothers) "Why didn't you come to *Sabaq* yesterday, and the day before?" Though the answer of the two boys "That's none of your business" had its own importance for my "field notes", I was more curious to find out what *Sabaq* in the interrogative statement meant. On a somewhat provisional basis, I learned that *Sabaq* meant the total class of basic Islamic education that is held in the Mosque. But inside the Mosque (where I was also introduced to the boys as another teacher), the concept of *Sabaq* was used to mean something different: one of the boys told me that "My *Sabaq* is very easy today!". He was referring to his own *Quranic* lesson on that day. Then *Hafiz Sahib* ordered a boy in Urdu to "Concentrate on his *Sabaq*". He also clearly meant the particular *Quranic* lesson. I was confused, about the varying meanings of *Sabaq*.

Over the next few days, I listened curiously and talked to the boys so that the meaning of the concept was clarified. Finally, I was convinced that the concept of *Sabaq* refers to both: a) The whole class of the Mosque based religious education, and b) to an individual lesson of religious education in the Mosque. I also found out that the second meaning of *Sabaq* was more prevalent and more directly referred to than the first. The boys commonly used the phrase "Mosque School" to refer to the class of Islamic education. Thus the terms *Sabaq* and "Mosque School" were used interchangeably to refer to the whole class, whereas *Sabaq* in its second usage referred only to a particular lesson of Islamic education in the Pilrig Mosque.

The Social Organisation and Content Of The *Sabaq* Class

About 120 British-born Pakistani boys and girls are registered in the Pilrig Mosque-school. The overwhelming majority of these boys and girls also, normally, attend the local Scottish schools. Unlike the co-educational local schools, girls and boys in the Mosque-school sit in separate classes. Also girls in the Mosque-school are taught by a female teacher, whereas boys are taught by *Hafiz Sahib* and (at one time) by myself (See appendix iii for the description of my role as a teacher, friend and as a 'participant-as-observer' during the field-work)

The total number of boys (the subject of the present research) in the Mosque-school is about eighty seven individuals. They attend the *Sabaq*-class five days in a week. The class is, normally held between 2.00 to 4.00 in the afternoons, from Monday to Thursday, inclusively. While Fridays and Sundays are holidays, the *Sabaq*-class on Saturdays takes place between 11.00 to 1.00 in the mornings.

The class is held in the large hall or the actual Mosque where *Jom'a* prayer is performed. The boys, whose ages range from six to twenty one, sit on the floor that is covered with a comfortable light grey carpet. They normally sit near the walls of the hall and put their books and notebooks on the long wooden benches that are in front of them. A bench may be shared by two or three boys. The physical structure of the class looks like a fort with three walls. In place of the missing 'wall', *Hafiz Sahib* sits. It is a place from where he can easily keep a watchful eye on the boys.

Hafiz Sahib with a moderately long beard is in his late-thirties. He always wears traditional Pakistani clothes, the *Shalwar-Kamis*. With his higher and formal education in Islamic theology and broad knowledge of classical Islamic literature, *Hafiz Sahib* very eloquently speaks Urdu and Punjabi-the two main languages of Edinburgh's Pakistanis. He also can communicate in Arabic and in English.

Apart from his educational qualifications, the fact that he knows the whole *Quran* by heart and due to his personal charisma, *Hafiz Sahib* is a man of influence and is, generally, respected in the community, and by the boys in the Mosque-school. He is not only a teacher in the Mosque-school but, more importantly *Hafiz Sahib* is considered as a spiritual and religious leader. Respecting *Hafiz Sahib* is not only the scholastic duty of the Pilrig boys, it is also their religious duty and, therefore an expectation of their parents and of the community.

During the *Sabaq*-class with a brownish wooden stick in his hand (or on his knees), he calls the boys one by one to sit before him. Each boy puts his books (the holy *Quran*, Urdu language text book, etc.) on the bench before *Hafiz Sahib*. He first cites his previous day's *Sabaq* before *Hafiz Sahib* who corrects him if mistakes are made. Then *Hafiz Sahib* gives the boy a new *Sabaq* to be learnt during the class period. Every boy goes through this process individually to learn to read the holy *Quran* in Arabic. The boys learn to recite the *Quran* without understanding the meaning. But learning to read the *Quran* in Arabic has important implications for the social bonding of these boys to the community of believers. Learning to read the *Quran* enables an individual to memorise, at least, some parts of it that are essential for praying. A Muslim can not perform a prayer unless he/she knows certain verses of the *Quran* by heart. Thus, the ability to read and know by heart some parts of the *Quran* makes the Pilgrig boys "communicate" with *Allah* individually, and also collectively alongside the community of the believers.

However, learning to read the *Quran* in Arabic is only one part of the religious socialisation of the British-born Pakistani boys in the Mosque-school. These boys are also taught the fundamentals of Islamic faith-The five pillars of Islam which are;

1 - *Shahadah* : The declaration of faith in Islam which is:" There is no God but *Allah* , and that Mohammad (P.B.U.H.) is the prophet of *Allah*". This is also called *Aiman-e-Mojmal* [faith in brief].

2 - *Salah* [or *Namaz*, in Urdu] , : praying five times in 24 hours.

3 -*Sawm* (or*Roza*): fasting from early morning until sunset every day during the month of *Ramadan*.

4 -*Zakah* (or *Zakat*): Islamic welfare contribution to the poor by a well-to-do Muslim every year (the details of how much and who should pay the *Zakah* is beyond the scope of this thesis).

5 -*Haj*: pilgrimage to Mecca once in a well-to-do Muslim's life.

Every one of the five Pillars of Islam are explained in detail by *Hafiz Sahib* then boys are required to learn these details by heart. In some cases the boys are required to

learn some of the Arabic scripture related to the five pillars by heart. For example, the Arabic scripture called *Iman-ul-Mufasssal* (faith in detail) should be learned by heart. It says: "I believe in *Allah*; in his angels; in his books; in his messengers; in the last day [Day of Judgement] and that, indeed, everything good or bad, is decided by *Allah* the Almighty; and in the life after death". The words 'books' and 'prophets' include belief in the Prophet Jesus and his Book, the Bible which are a part of this package of Islamic faith.

The *Iman-ul-Mufasssal* constitutes the fundamental basis of a Muslim's faith in the supernatural powers the Angels, the Day of Judgement and the Life After Life,[and hence the Hell and Heaven] and, more importantly, in *Allah* Almighty who decides/decided the fate of all individuals. The young believers are, further, told that they will be rewarded for their faith and obedience in the teachings of *Allah* [conveyed through Prophet Mohammad], and they will be punished should they reject and/or disobey these teachings. These rewards and punishments may take place in this, or in the other world, or in both.

Obviously, faith in the existence, powers, and sanctions of the supernatural could directly influence and control an individual's behaviour as Ross (1901); Durkheim (1915), Tocqueville (1945) and Parsons (1937) recognised long ago. The pronouncement of such belief in a particular social context is especially important from the social control point of view: The public acceptance of the *Iman-ul-Mufasssal* in a large group of other young believers who know one another face-to-face creates collective sentiments of belonging to a shared moral/religious community. The importance of such belief is described by Emile Durkheim in this way:

"They (religious beliefs) are something belonging to the group, and they make its unit. The individuals which compose it feel themselves united to each other by the simple fact that they have a common faith. A society whose members are united by the fact that they think in the same way in regard to the sacred world and its relations with profane world, and by the fact that they translate these common ideas into common practice is what is called a church [or a mosque]"

Durkheim (1915:44)

Indeed, the pronouncement of *Iman-ul-Mufasssal* in the mosque and its regular translation to collective worship is a process of identification with the community and an implicit moral and social commitment with it to abide by its rules. Breach of

the group's rules would be considered as a betrayal for which the deviant will have to pay in high social and psychological cost-feelings of guilt and the fear of punishment by supernatural powers and by the community itself. The translation of a common faith into a regular common act of collective prayers is not only a part of worship but is also integral to the *Sabaq*-class in the Pilrig Mosque.

In most of the four seasons of a year at least one prayer falls during the class period. So all the boys, particularly those who are above the age of nine, are required to do *Wozu* (ablution) for the prayer. The boys go to the *Wozo Khana*. There they practically learn how to make *Wozu*; they wash their mouths, noses, faces, arms, feet and dry them with special towels provided. Then an older boy makes *Azan* (call for the prayer) which is in standard Arabic words. After that, the boys stand in straight rows, behind the *Imam* to pray in congregation. When the prayer ends, the boys go back to their benches to resume their *Sabaq* (or they leave for home if the prayer time coincides with the end of the class).

This practice is repeated five days a week, during the *Sabaq*-class. Obviously , the practice of learning Islamic praying involves worship and 'communicating' with *Allah* (if the actor intends and believes so). But the real purpose of this practice is learning the manners, rules and rituals of Islamic worship. It is a socialisation that enables the British-born Pakistani boys to participate in the major congregational prayers alongside the adult members of the community. It is a part of the process of the integration of these boys to the mainstream socio-religious community. It is an integration not only as believers ; but also as participants in the translation of faith into practice.

Moreover, the Mosque-school does not suffice by socialisation to Islamic faith and rituals as the only form of social control in the *Sabaq*-class. In order to ensure that this socialisation process goes smoothly , and in order to "prevent misbehaviour", the mosque-school also uses direct forms of social control i. e. corporal punishments.

While it is strongly emphasised that during the class, everybody should concentrate only on his *Sabaq*, norms of the "Mosque School" are broken from time to time: some boys talk, make noises, use bad language and punch each other, etc. Most of this behaviour is not only considered as diverting the students' attention from their *Sabaq*, but is labelled "bad" and "offending" by the standards of the community and the Mosque.

In order to prevent "misbehaviour" and meanwhile to maintain an "orderly" educational atmosphere, several disciplinary measures are taken: first of all, *Hafiz Sahib* keeps watchful eyes on everybody and with a brownish wooden stick in his hand he demonstrates to the students an active presence of surveillance of their behaviour in the class. Staring is the first warning for the misbehaving boy. Most boys when stared at automatically respond by quitting indulgence in misbehaviour and they refocus on their *Sabaq*. They fully get this symbolic message and know the consequences should they continue to misbehave. While almost every student responds to this first warning, its impact is more momentary on some. When some of the boys repeatedly "misbehave", then the stick comes into action: the "misbehaving" boy may receive a few blows on his palms, hips or back. The disciplined boy does not show any opposite reaction. Instead, he becomes calm and quietly refocuses on his *Sabaq*. But despite this, some boys would repeatedly indulge in "misbehaviour". In this case, he is ordered to stand on his feet and read his *Sabaq* for an unknown period, or he might be asked to sit in isolation from the rest of the boys in the class. While this disciplinary measure might be accompanied by the corporal punishment, it is mainly used against the "misbehaviour" of the older students (normally about 14). The older boys cause problems more frequently than the younger ones. Therefore a group of them is separated from the rest of the class and come to *Sabaq* at a different time.

Another form of controlling misbehaviour inside or outside the Mosque is an exercise of social-psychological pressure that can be called "shaming". This non-corporal punishment is more commonly used against those boys who misbehave during the prayer or occasionally against those who hurt one of the students outside the class (provided the victim complains). An example of "shaming" happened once during the evening prayer when there was loud laughter and noise in the back *Saf*, row. Just when the formal prayer ended, *Hafiz Sahib* asked some of the "good boys" to point out who was responsible for the laughter during the prayer. The accused boy was ordered to come to the front of the worshippers i.e. his classmates and some community members. He was questioned with a raised voice "Why did you laugh and push other boys during the prayer?". The boy was so ashamed in front of all the crowd that he could not say a word to defend himself. He silently admitted his "misbehaviour". Then *Hafiz Sahib* told him "Sharm nahi ien", "aren't you ashamed" (of your bad behaviour). Then he ordered the boy to stand against the front wall of the hall (in front of the crowd) until the prayer was concluded by *Du'a* (the concluding prayer). The boy had no choice but to stand there. Everybody was watching him while he could

not look at anything except the wall. After the prayer, the boy was advised by *Hafiz Sahib* not to repeat what he did, and was encouraged to be a "good boy".

Despite the lack of sufficient educational facilities in the Mosque-school and an apparent incompatibility between the voluntary internalisation of Islamic faith/morality and corporal punishment as the two main forms of social control during the *Sabaq*-class, the school appears to be successful in achieving its objectives- the transmission of Islamic faith and morality to the British-born Pakistanis. Most of the Pilrig boys were able to perform prayers, individually and collectively alongside the adult members of the community on Fridays and on other religious occasions. In addition to this, when I asked the question "How much of the Islamic teachings do you think we should follow in our daily lives , in this country?", the results were as follows: One half of the boys said that we should follow "all Islamic teachings" whereas more than a third of [36.6%] said "the major Islamic teachings". Only 13.3 percent of the boys said that we should follow. "Only those Islamic teachings that involve rituals and ceremonies", where none of the sixty boys said that " It is no longer necessary for us to follow Islamic teachings". These results indicate that only one half of the sixty Pilrig boys are in favour of following all the Islamic teachings, in this country. This strong position was taken mainly by the younger boys (10-13 age-group). The other half had a more flexible position, as the results showed. This, in turn is indicative of the extent to which the *Sabaq*-class has been effective in the social bonding of its British-born Pakistani pupils to the socio-religious order of the Pakistani community in Edinburgh.

Congregational Worship, The Sense Of Community And Social Control

a: The *Jom'a* prayer: A periodic renewal of commitment to shared morality.

Salat or formal (ritualistic) prayer is one of the most important features of Islamic religious life. It is repeatedly emphasised in the holy *Quran* and in the sayings of the prophet Mohammed (P.B.U.H.). The prophet called *Salat* "the foundation of Islam". It is also the most commonly and regularly observed way of worshipping *Allah* in Islam: from the daily five times to the weekly *Jom'a* and to the annual *Eid* prayers. While a Muslim is required to pray five times a day (preferably in congregation), the practicalities of life in Britain, it seems, make it difficult for most Muslims to meet

this requirement ; only a few people attend the Mosque for their daily prayer that is performed in congregation.

However, the *Jom'a* (Friday) prayer which cannot be performed except in congregation is taken very seriously by Edinburgh's Muslim population. Many Muslims leave their shops and businesses for the Mosque on Friday afternoons to respond to the order of *Allah* who said: "When it is called for the prayer of Friday, hurry to the worship of *Allah* and leave business" (*Al-Quran*). Around one o'clock every Friday both sides of Pilrig Street and the area surrounding the Mosque are crowded with the cars of Muslim worshippers. Many of them will have driven from distant parts of the city and the new brands of many cars show that their owners are successful businessmen. The entrance of the Mosque is also often crowded with the incoming men and young boys and some women too (I will mention shortly that women perform this prayer in a separate room within the mosque). Inside the building, just before entering the main hall in the basement, the ablution place is always very busy with men and boys making *Wozu*: washing hands, mouth, nose, arms, and feet which is a necessary condition for prayer. But some people have already made *Wozu* at home. They take off their shoes and enter the main hall to join the rest of the worshippers who are sitting in *Safs* (rows), on the carpeted floor. This floor is covered with special prayer mats, on Fridays.

All the people face the *Mihrab* and the *Minber*(and therefore Mecca) from where the *Imam* delivers his *Khotbah*, formal Friday sermon) in Arabic. Older people normally sit or stand in the front *Safs* and the younger ones in the back. Though this is not a rule, it is considered desirable and it is an indication of respect for older people. Women, however, pray in a separate hall on the ground floor. While they are part of the same congregation, the women worshippers follow the rituals and the prayer led by the *Hafiz Sahib* through a loudspeaker in the women's hall. In principal, women can pray in the same hall, but this rarely happens in the Mosques of more traditional *Sunni* Muslims.

The formal prayer which starts at 1.30 p.m.(in all seasons of the year) is always preceded by a preaching in Urdu/Punjabi by *Hafiz Sahib*. At about 12.45 p.m. the young and eloquent but traditional-looking and charismatic *Hafiz Sahib* goes up the *Minber* to preach. The *Hafiz Sahib* carefully selects his preachments: they may coincide with certain events and sacred days in Islamic history such as the *Ashura* (the day of the martyrdom of Imam Hussain, a grandson of the prophet), or with current events concerning Muslims in Edinburgh, Britain and occasionally in the

Islamic world. For example, the publication of *Satanic Verses*, the Gulf War, and the situation in Bosnia. But normally, the Friday sermon is a weekly message of reminding the faithful of their commitment to Islamic morality - the *Awamir* and *Nawahi* (obligations and prohibitions, respectively). *Awamir* and *Nawahi* are umbrella concepts that cover a very wide range of issues from very personal to very social; From drinking, eating and dressing to the virtues of cleanliness, honesty, modesty and chastity; from social manners and greetings to duties and obligations to parents, kin, neighbours, the needy and to the state and society.

Aware of the fact that many of his audience may already know about these issues, *Hafiz Sahib* expands on and relates them to the daily lives of Muslims in Edinburgh. By mentioning *Allah's* sanctions, examples from Islamic history, daily life and humorous tales from Pakistani folklore, the sermon turns into an interesting and practically oriented lesson on Islamic morality and values. Special emphasis is often on the prohibition of drinking alcohol and of having pre and extra-marital relationships. He warns people "These are two of the biggest of the seven sins in Islam". Then he explains the "damaging personal and social consequences" of these "sins", citing a saying of the prophet: "Alcohol is the mother of all evils"; then he explains that once you are drunk, then you lose self-control; you may verbally abuse your friends and other people; you may commit indecent assaults and *Zena*, (adultery)¹ even against close relatives; or you may kill someone", *Hafiz Sahib* explains. Then he mentions the punishments that await the drinker of alcohol in the other world. Parents are warned not only to prevent their young sons and daughters from indulging in drinking and mixing with the opposite sex, but also to prevent them from going to pubs and discos. "These places corrupt the youngsters and lead them to *Zena*. He cites a verse from the *Quran*: "...and do not go (even) close to *Zena* [let alone committing it]". Then he explains that how pubs and discos create the atmosphere for vice and *Zena*. *Hafiz Sahib* often relates *Zena*, and the high rates of divorce incidents of rape, illegitimacy and even AIDS in Britain to the free mixing of males and females. Then he draws a sharp line between what he calls "permissive values" of western societies and the values of an Islamic community. A reactive element (to exclusion and discrimination) becomes clear in the drawing of "their"

¹All extra marital relationships, according to Islamic Law, are called "*Zena*", adultery, but if an unmarried person commits "*Zena*", he/she is given one hundred lashes. If a married person commits it, he/she is stoned to death. However, "*Zena*" must be proven either by the admission of its doer or by the testimony of four witnesses who actually observed taking place. In this way, since it is extremely difficult to prove "*Zena*", the allocation of these punishments have very few examples in Islamic history

and "our" values when *Hafiz Sahib* refers to some of the verbal abusive attacks on the mosque, the Muslim graveyard and other racially motivated harassment of some members of the community:

"this is what this society produces: hooligans, vandals and barbarians. When people abandon their religion, traditions and respects for older people this is what happens to them. We must learn a lesson from this. If you want to be protected from crime and all other evils we must return to *Allah* and follow the teaching of Islam strictly and sincerely. *Allah* will protect us from the evil acts of hooligans and criminals if we close our ranks and create a true Islamic community where there is no alcohol, free mixing of women and therefore no indecency, *Zena* and violence".

It is important to notice that outside the Mosque, drinking alcohol and extra-marital relationships (among other prohibitions of the same degree of seriousness) are viewed as criteria for the labels of "good" and "bad" Muslims. The labels *Sharabi*, drinker (of alcohol) and *Zani* (a person who commits *Zena*) are extremely derogatory and disreputable social stigmas. So is unrestricted mixing between unrelated men and women - these facts point to the existence of important relationships between the Mosque and the community. The audience in the Mosque are careful listeners and recipients of the Mosque's "moral" lesson and the Mosque is an important source of the community's morality and moral judgements. Hence, it is a major agency of the community's social control.

To return again to the process of the *Jom'a* congregational prayer, the first phase of the ritual ends with *Du'a* or concluding words of prayer to *Allah* for forgiveness of sins and for guidance to the right path while everybody holds their hands up in the air. Then, the *Azan* (call for prayer) is made. After four *Rakats* of individually performed prayer by every worshipper, the Imam goes up the *Minber* to deliver the first of the two *Khotbahs* (the formal sermons). It is a reading from an Arabic text which is standard across most of the Muslim world. Its contents include prayers and greetings to the prophet Mohammed (P.B.U.H.), to the four Khalifs, to the descendants, companions and all followers of the prophet. When the first *Khotbah* ends, then the *Imam* sits on the *Minber* for about two minutes, to signify a break between the two *Khotbahs*. Then he stands again and cites the second *Khotbah* in Arabic. Its contents are also as standardised as those of the first one (though in some Muslim Arab countries new *Khotbahs* are prepared every Friday). The contents of the second *Khotbah* include prayer for guidance, granting strength to Muslim rulers for the implementation of Islamic law. It ends with a verse from the holy *Quran* "*Allah*

commands justice, fairness and giving (their dues) to close relatives ..." (Al-Quran).

Although only a few people can understand the meaning of the two *Khotbahs* (which are in Arabic), everybody listens devoutly to them. This is because the two *Khotbahs* are considered as a collective prayer which is read and performed by the *Imam* on behalf of the rest of the worshippers. After the second *Khotbahs* another *Azan* is made, then all the people stand in very straight *Safs*, shoulder to shoulder, facing the *Ka'aba*. The *Imam* reads verses from the holy *Quran* with *Tajvid* (a special rhythm of citing the holy *Quran*), while the worshippers silently listen. The worshippers follow the *Hafiz* in *Roko'a* (bowing), and *Sajda* (putting ones head on the ground) and in other rituals that he performs. After the congregational prayer ends, everybody performs six more *Rakats* of prayer individually. The weekly *Jom'a* prayer is much more than a system of signs, rituals and a sermon about Islamic morality that have been described so far; when the *Jom'a* prayer is performed, the worshippers' thoughts are centred upon

" ... their common beliefs, their common traditions, the memory of their ancestors, the collective idea of which they are an incarnation; in a word, upon social things ... the spark of social being which each bears within him necessarily participates in this collective renovation. The individual soul is regenerated, too, by being dipped again in the sources from which its life came; consequently, it feels itself stronger, more fully master of itself, ... (Durkheim 1915:348-49).

Many Muslims would find Durkheim's theological description, in the above passage, not applicable to Islam, but most are likely to agree with his social explanation of holding common faith and its translation to collective action. The Pakistani Muslims who are excluded from the wider society and feel insecure and alienated find spiritual security and strength in their sense of community. The *Jom'a* prayer is constitutive of a collective expression of shared sentiments and a sense of community of deeply-held feelings of unity- a unity of praying before one *Allah*; towards one place (the *Ka'aba*); after one spiritual leader, *Hafiz Sahib*, (the *Imam*) and reading or listening to the same set(s) of verses from one book, the holy *Quran* which says: "...You alone we worship; from you alone we seek help. Guide us along the straight path..." (Al *Quran*). The expression of the feelings of communality and unity is clearly present in the contradiction between "we" and "us" with "you alone"..

This expression of shared sentiments and the feelings of unity by the faithful during the *Jom'a* prayer, has important implications for social control: it is the renewal of the existent commitment of the worshippers to their shared sets of moral and religious values. It is renewal of a commitment to *Allah*, to obey him and at the same time it is a commitment, with each other that they will abide by the norms and values of their "moral community". By warm embracing with the *Hafiz Sahib* and among themselves at the end of the worship, the faithful further strengthen this commitment. But, the embraces on the occasion of *Eid-ul-Fiter* are even warmer, a topic to be discussed next.

b: *Eid-UI-Fiter*: Sharing Of Hardship And Happiness.

Apart from the weekly congregational *Jom'a* (Friday) prayer the religious calendar of Edinburgh's Pakistani community includes other important occasions for collective worship and/or celebrations that bring its members together. The most important of these occasions are *Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi* (the birthday of Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H)); *Ashura* (the day of martyrdom of Imam Hussain, nephew of the Prophet); *Shabi Ma'raji Nabi* (the night when Prophet Mohammad was taken by *Allah* to *Arsh*, a place in the metaphysical world); *Shabi barat* (the night when the destinies of everybody are fixed for the next year); the days of passing away of *Hazrati-Nizamudin Awleia* and *Hazrati Imam Ahamd Raza Khan* (two saints and spiritual leaders of the *Barelvi* sect); *Eid-ul-Ozha* (the day of pilgrimage to *Mecca*); and *Eid-ul-Fiter* (the first non-fasting day after the month of *Ramadan*). While there are some differences in the way these events are celebrated (some include formal prayers, while others do not) all of them involve rituals and ceremonies that are very similar. Since it is beyond the limits of this thesis to discuss all of these religious/cultural occasions, I would focus only on *Eid-ul-Fiter*, the most important of these socio-religious events.

Eid-ul-Fiter, is preceded by a month of fasting, *Ramadan*. During this month, all adult Muslims must abstain from eating, drinking, smoking and any conjugal relationships from early morning until sunset every day. A Muslim is expected to remain abstemious as *Ramadan* is a month of *Ibadat*, (worship) and it is considered as a "training" for the faithful to control human passions and desires.

Apart from fasting during the day, Muslims also offer long prayers called *Taravih* in the evening/night. These prayers are generally performed in congregation. In the

Pilgrimage mosque the whole *Quran* is recited, every year, during *Taraviah* over 28 evenings, by *Hafiz Sahib* who knows all of it by heart.

An important and joyful part of a fasting day is *Iftar* (breaking the fast at sunset). After many hours of thirst and hunger from early morning to early evenings people - young, old and children - gather in the Mosque to break their fast together. The collective breaking of the fast together with the food is called *Iftar* in the Pilgrimage mosque. It is a fully-fledged meal with a lot of soft drinks and sweet dishes, and especially dates. The *Iftar* is hosted by a member of the community every evening in turn. As the time of *Iftar* approaches all the people sit around a meal mat in rows. When the first words of *Azan* for the evening prayer (performed just after sunset) are said, everybody starts breaking his fast. This collective breaking of the fast is again constitutive of a sense of community. All the more so because of the shared provision of the food. To share in this is to be made to feel a part of this community. "Eat, eat brother, you spend more energy, you work hard, throughout the day at the University" I too was "brought in" by the simple fact of sharing food. But it is more than sharing food. It is the sharing of hardship and suffering throughout the day; sharing of happiness of overcoming hardship (at the time of breakfast); and above all sharing of the belief and determination that has made possible an absolute abstention from eating, drinking, smoking, conjugal relationship, and sins. Thus the importance of fasting, for social control, is more than the control of human passions for the period of a month. Its true importance, is found in the sharing it involves. A sharing in faith and proving it by deeds through which the faithful reaffirm their social bond and loyalty to the community and to its moral order.

However, *Ibadat*, worship, does not end at the *Iftar* (breaking the fast). After the *Iftar* the third of the five prayers is performed in congregation. Then some people stay for *Taraviah* (performed two hours later), others go home and come later for *Taraviah*. While this situation is repeated every evening for the whole month of *Ramadan*, the last 10 days of the month are special; this is because the revelation of the Holy *Quran* is believed to have been completed on one of these nights. This night is called *Lailat-ul-Qader*, in which one's prayers are supposed to be accepted by *Allah*. During these last ten days of *Ramadan* the Mosque is crowded with worshippers in the evenings. It is also during these days that people make preparations for the *Eid*-day; exchange *Eid*-cards with friends and relatives; buy new clothes to wear on the day of *Eid*.

When, the long awaited *Eid* -day is reached both sides of Pilrig Street become very crowded with cars, men, women and children most of whom wear new smart clothes. While many men and young boys are in smart western clothes, many others wear Pakistani traditional garb, *Shalwar Kamis*. Women and young girls in colourful traditional Pakistani clothes add to the scene. This scene is an expression of cultural identity lived through the celebration of the *Eid*-day.

As everybody enters the first corridor of the main building they separate into two groups: The men go downstairs to the large hall in the basement, whereas the women go to their own smaller hall on the ground floor. The number of men and women is three or four times bigger than the capacity of the Mosque. Therefore, the *Eid* prayer and its related rituals of exchanging *Eid* greetings have to be performed at three separate times: 08.30, 09.30 and 10.30 in the morning. Still each time, the halls of prayer are overcrowded. The *Eid* prayer is preceded by a sermon very different to other sermons. It focuses on issues that are considered of vital importance for the community's unity, moral and social survival.

Hafiz Sahib, generally, talks about the disciplinary role of fasting in controlling "illegitimate" passions, desires and greed, as an introduction to a more central issue concerning the community. He places special emphasis on the most important issues and events of the year. For example, on one occasion, he singled out greed and selfishness of members of the community. He said that events during the past year had shown that greed and vicious economic competition among members of the community had created jealousy and hatred: "Greed and love of money have diverted people's attention from religion and the community to materialistic competition that have led to jealousy and therefore to disunity in the community. That is a social disaster". He continued "Success is not in making money, drinking, dancing with women and in luxury; *Allah* says: " .. and indeed, those succeeded who remain pure." He recited a verse from holy *Quran* .*Hafiz Sahib* further added "You should not buy sin with money; instead spend your money in doing things that are useful for your religion, community and the people". Finally he reminded the audience to pay *Sadaqat-ul-Fiter*- an obligatory contribution by every individual to the poorer members of the community , and to charity.

On this occasion *Hafiz Sahib* further pointed out that some people occasionally organised drinking and dancing parties, and that he knew about this. He strongly discouraged this behaviour, citing another verse from the holy *Quran* "... and compete with each other in doing good things and in advising piety. Do not co-operate with

each other in commission of sin and violence". He derived from this verse the meaning of collective responsibility to prevent "immorality" in the community. *Hafiz Sahib's* speech clearly shows an awareness of the deviations of some of members of the community. He directly told the audience that the community does not "turn a blind eye" on the breaches of its moral norms and appealed to the audience for the mobilisation of the community to control deviance.

After the congregational *Eid* prayer, all the participants stand up and embrace one another saying *Eid Mubarak*, (Happy *Eid*). Most importantly it is on this occasion that people who have some resentment or hostility towards one another over the past year (in such situations in Pakistani culture, the two parties often avoid talking to each other) will embrace and greet each other. They must forget their resentments or hostility and forgive one another. If the resentment is very deep, then the community leaders and *Hafiz Sahib* reconcile the two parties. They have no choice but to accept "the goodwill" of the community leaders: if they don't, they will not only be opposing the elders' opinion, but the refusal is also considered sinful because the happiness of *Eid* must be shared. Those who refuse to share the joy and happiness of the day and refuse the "good will" of the community's leaders will be subject to the community's sanctions. Some of these sanctions are enforced by "The Pakistan Association for Edinburgh and the East of Scotland", a topic to be discussed next.

B: Pakistan Association, Edinburgh And East Of Scotland (P.A.E.E.S):

Organisational Structure, Functions And Aims:

The Pakistan Association is an organised response by Edinburgh's Pakistani population to their new social, cultural and individual needs, that have emerged since their migration to Britain. A large part of these needs are of such a nature that the traditional Pakistani social institutions - the family, the *Biraderi*, and the mosque - can not cope effectively. The ineffectiveness of the traditional Pakistani social institutions stems mainly from the fact that they are not designed to deal with the new needs of the population. The Association as a formal organisation with necessary financial and managerial resources responds to these needs, through the mobilisation of the Pakistani population and by seeking assistance from certain institutions in the wider society. The new needs of Edinburgh's Pakistani population range from individual problems related to communications with formal and informal institutions of the wider society, arrangements for funerals/burials of the dead and other general welfare services to the religious/cultural socialisation of youngsters, celebration of cultural religious occasions and matters related to collective action against racial discrimination and violence etc. Meeting these needs constitute the formal manifest aims of the Association. In order to achieve these aims more or less efficiently, the association has developed a formal (or semi-formal) organisational structure.

But despite the problems of legitimacy and popular representation, the Association remains an important institution in the life of the community, and an agency of social control. It has earned the recognition of official British Institutions as the "spokesman" of Edinburgh's Pakistani Community. As a bridge between Edinburgh's Pakistani population and the wider society, the Association has acquired a significant amount of prestige both within the Pakistani community and in the wider society. Due to its social influence in the community, and its control over resources to provide for the needs of Edinburgh's Pakistani population, the Association has the power to exercise authority and to act as an agency of social control in the community. With this general background to the P.A.E.E.S., I now turn to the discussion of its formal structure, and aims and the way it acts as an agency of social control.

In the course of the past 30 years since its establishment in 1964, the organisational arrangements of the "Pakistan Association, Edinburgh East of

Scotland" (P.A.E.E.S.) has evolved from being a kind of simple "social club" into a bureaucratic or semi-bureaucratic structure with its own constitution. The constitution elaborates the Association's structural organisation and specifies its functions, aims, and activities. The document (and its various amendments) includes eight key sections. The eight sections are about issues that relate to the Association's objectives (aims), membership, voting system, elections and general meetings, office-bearers and their roles, finance and amendments to the constitution.

Membership in the Association is one of the central issues to the constitution. In theory all Pakistani residents of Edinburgh, Lothian and Fife, can be members of the P.A.E.E.S., as article no. 1 of section III of the constitution states:

"Membership of the Association will be open to all Pakistanis residing in Edinburgh, Lothian and Fife, including those who are interested in the welfare of Pakistan and Pakistanis."

(Constitution of P.A.E.E.S. 1971:1)

The article leaves the Association's doors open to the membership of all Pakistanis regardless of their affiliation to different *Biraderis*, religious sects etc. The ordinary members of the association pay membership fees. The amount of the fees is not fixed and changes from time to time. The ordinary members are entitled to vote for the chairman and members of the executive committee. Members, moreover, are expected to attend the association's general meetings and to express their opinions about various issues and problems that concern the community. However, the Pakistan Association has not gained participation of all Pakistani residents in Edinburgh, Lothian and Fife. It is estimated by the leaders of the Association that it has the support of the overwhelming majority of Pakistani residents in this region. This includes "Active" membership and "Passive" support of the association. Another group of Pakistani residents in Edinburgh have set up a rival cultural/welfare organisation to the Pakistan Association. This Pakistani organisation is known "Pakistan Society". Leaders of the Pakistani Society and other independent Pakistani Residents in Edinburgh accuse the Association of being undemocratic, and dominated and led by a group of Pakistanis who use the organisation for their personal interests. Whatever the truth of this claim, the Pakistan Association is generally considered as the main body that represents Pakistani residents in Edinburgh, Lothian and Fife.

The Organisational structure of the Association is formed on modern bureaucratic lines. The most central apparatus of the organisational structure of the Association is its Executive Committee – an elected body that is responsible for the overall policy-making and for the running of the Association. According to the amendment of 6th June 1988 of the Association's constitution, the Executive Committee shall comprise 31 members. All members of the executive committee are elected in general elections that are held every two years. The hierarchical order of the division of labour and power of the Executive Committee is as follows:

- a. Chairman
- b. Senior vice-chairman
- c. Vice-chairman
- d. Secretary
- e. Joint secretary
- f. Treasurer

The above hierarchical order of the Executive Committee has undergone some recent changes and modifications. In a general meeting of the Association in July 1993 a new post was added to the existing order of the Executive Committee. The new post is named "Chief Patron". This position, in theory, is honorary, without "official" powers. But critics of this decision say that the real purpose behind it is to let the existing leaders continue their control over the Association. Some members of the Association complained that the conditions of the eligibility for the position of "Chief Patron" apply only to the out-going Chairman of the Association.

The above mentioned top office-bearers (or leaders) are mainly responsible for general policy-making. As "Official" leaders of the community, these individuals perform many other functions i.e. mediation in intra-group disputes; heading the community's delegations to conferences; and chairing the celebration of social and cultural occasions of the community. More importantly, the top office-bearers of the Association deal with matters that relate to the community's relationship with the wider Scottish/British society and its formal and informal institutions. These matters include contributing to the policy-making of race relations council, council of interfaith relation and the police in the prevention of crime, particularly, racial attacks and harassment, etc. In short the top "office bearers" of the Pakistan Association act as an official bridge between the Edinburgh's Pakistani community and the institutions of the wider society. It is mainly because of this reason that unlike the other three social institutions of the community (the family, the *Biraderi*,

and the mosque) the P.A.E.E.S. is relatively an open and outward looking institution in its interaction with the wider society. Nevertheless it is the other traditional institutions of the community that to a considerable extent influence the policies of the P.A.E.E.S. In response to the social and cultural needs of Edinburgh's Pakistani community the P.A.E.E.S. has to translate the feelings, emotions and grievances to the wider society. For example in 1989 when Edinburgh's Muslim and Pakistani population protested against Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* the then chairman told the Edinburgh Evening News (12.6.1989) that "the Muslim community of Scotland feels it has been let down by the community at large". The chairman who did not favour violent demonstration and Ayatollah Khomeini's *fatwa* against the author Rushdie added that: "my message to my Scottish friends is: if you were in my shoes what would you do". The chairman of the P.A.E.E.S. who demanded banning the book implied that he was under pressure from the community in demanding a ban on the book.

As far as the application and practical embodiment of the Association's policies is concerned it is the task of smaller units within the Association that are called "Committees". Each committee comprises about 6 individuals headed by one of the 31 members of the Executive Committee. The head of each committee is called "Convenor".. Some larger committees may be divided in to further smaller units that are called "Sub-Committees".

The various committees that are, presently, functioning within the organisational structure of the Pakistani Association are:

- a. Committee for education
- b. Committee for religious affairs/mosque
- c. Committee for trade
- d. Committee for development (fund-raising, entertainment)
- e. Committee for sports and youth

Convenors of these committees are responsible for the effective running of their respective committees. They are also responsible to report to the executive committee in the Association's monthly meetings. Expenses for the activities of the committees are normally paid from the Association's budget. The main sources of this budget are membership fees, and money collected through donations, gifts and fund-raising.

With all the organisational arrangements that have so far been described the Pakistan Association has targets of achieving some specific aims. According to section II of the Association's Constitution the aims are:

- a. To look after the interest of Pakistani community in the area.
- b. To promote good relations amongst Pakistanis and other ethnic communities and amongst the host community.
- c. To maintain mosque and school for religious studies of Pakistani children.
- d. To celebrate national and international days, including religious days.
- e. To maintain a library consisting of Urdu and religious books
- f. To acquire a piece of land for burial and funerals".

(Constitution of P.A.E.E.S 1971:1)

It is difficult to assess the extent of the Association's success in achieving each of the above mentioned aims/objectives. What is observable is the fact that the Association has been successful in providing a general organisational framework for the various aspects of the life of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents. The Association has provided its members and other Pakistanis in the area with means and facilities for collective worship, celebration of social/cultural festivals and events, the religious/cultural socialisation of the British-born young Pakistanis and a place for the burial of their dead according to Islamic rituals. This would seem to indicate that the Association has achieved most of its aims to a significant extent.

The Pakistani Association has not only given an organisational structure to the community's life, but it has also given the community a formal recognition on national and international levels. For example, the Pakistani Association has very good relationships with the Scottish Local Authorities, members of the British Parliament, prominent politicians, the Scottish police and various local Scottish/British institutions. All these formal institutions recognise the Pakistan Association as a "Formal" spokesman of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Mr. Bader, a leader of the Pakistan Association said:

" The Association is 'mouth organ' of Pakistanis. It has fought for the rights of its members and non-members alike. It is democratically elected and recognised by the Embassy of Pakistan, all local authorities and relevant agencies".

(Bader, 1985:5)

Similarly the Association has gained recognition outside the U.K. For example, in 1983, the late president Zia-ul-Haq formally invited leaders of the Association to visit Pakistan. Leaders of the Association also formally visited members of European Parliament in Brussels, 1984. Moreover the Association also raised funds for the victims of natural disasters in Turkey, Bangladesh, and has actively supported international and humanitarian causes.

Having achieved the status of "Formal" cultural/religious and welfare organisation and a significant degree of national and internal prestige, the Pakistan Association is clearly in a position to act as an "official" spokesman of Edinburgh's Pakistani population and as an agency of social control in the community.

Power, Authority And Social Control

Social power and one of its major manifestations, authority, are fundamental aspects of all socially organised groups, or associations. Power and authority both are, in turn, closely linked with social control. Most social and political scientists agree that power plays a vital role in the orderly existence and continuance of all associations. According to, Robert Bierstedt (1970 : 351); "Power stands behind every association and sustains its structure. Without power there is no organisation and without power there is no order". Certainly the orderly existence and functioning of a football team, a university, a tribe and a state owe a great deal to the existence of power relations in the organisational structure of each of these associations. A university without the existence of power relations among the principal, deans of faculties, heads of various departments, and the rest, will cease to function as an organised social group. Power in this and other similar cases, moves the machine of association and enforces associational norms.

But despite the vital importance of power to the functioning of associations, it is one of the most difficult sociological problems to fully grasp and analyse. This is mainly because social power like, electrical power, is unseen. Just as we can only see the effects of electrical power – heat, light, sound, etc. – we only can see the manifestations of social power in terms of force, authority, etc. Nevertheless, social philosophers and sociologists have attempted to define power. For instance, more than three centuries ago the British philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1958 : 78) defined

power as "Man's present means for any future apparent ends". Like Hobbes, Weber, the German sociologist, also defined power in dispositional terms;

"In general, we understand by 'power' the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action"

(Weber 1968 : 926) (Emphasis Added)

It is clear from both Hobbes and Weber's definitions that power has a dispositional meaning. That is to say that power is an ability and a capacity of man (or woman) to impose his/her will on others, or successfully threaten to impose, for achieving certain ends; it is not the actual imposition. Bierstedt (1970 : 348) in his Social Order, describes the dispositional nature of power more explicitly: "Power is the ability to employ force, not its actual employment, the ability to apply sanctions, not their actual application . . . it is a stance not action".

By shedding some light on the meaning and nature of power, it is only vaguely understood that it is a latent energy whose manifestations in terms of force, authority etc. can be seen; not the phenomenon itself. However, it maybe possible to explore that where this mysterious phenomenon, power, comes from and what are its sources and bases. At this point it may be appropriate to return to the description of power relations and its social basis in the Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and the east of Scotland.

As mentioned earlier, the Pakistan Association is basically a collective response of Edinburgh's Pakistan residents to their new needs, after migration to Britain. But to meet the Pakistan residents' individual, social and cultural needs requires resources such as money, skill, property management etc. The P.A.E.E.S. is the only organised Pakistani group in this area that possesses most of the necessary resources to meet the Pakistani residents' new needs (The above mentioned rival "Pakistani Society" is too small to have any major resources to meet the social and cultural needs of Pakistanis in the area).

First of all the Association's leaders because of their relatively higher level of education and longer period of staying Britain are personally able to provide advice/assistance to individual Pakistan residents. The recipients of this kind of advice/assistance are normally those Pakistani residents who due to their poor communication skills in English face difficulties in dealing with official British

institutions. The Association's leaders assist such individuals in matters that relate to translation, completion of various application forms, writing official letters etc. The leaders also provide informal advice to Edinburgh's Pakistani residents about business matters, such as selling and buying of property, banking, and in areas of migration, housing and social security. Moreover, since the Association is recognised both by British official institutions and by Pakistani diplomatic missions in London and Glasgow, its leaders also act as referees of the Association's leaders in matters such as marriages, divorce, visa renewal and issuing of travel documents etc.

Apart from using the personal skills of its officials to assist individual Pakistanis, the Association has other organised collective resources to meet the residents' new cultural, religious and educational needs. For example the Association has its own budget and property; it controls and administers the mosque, the mosque-school, and the various committees for cultural activities that were mentioned in previous section.

The Association's leaders claim an ability to mobilise social, economic and managerial resources of Edinburgh's Pakistani population to meet their various needs. The ex-chairman of the Association told me: "We are proud to be able to look after the Pakistani community. We are here to help all Pakistani in this area. We have the resources". It may be an exaggeration to claim that the Association has vast economic, social and other resources to meet the Pakistani residents' various needs in Edinburgh. Nevertheless, the fact that the Association has mobilised and controls these resources (however modest they may be), has important social consequences for the consolidation of its position of power in the community. This is not only because the controllers of resources (leaders of the association) may withdraw from assisting, advising and providing other welfare services to individuals in the community. But, mainly, it is because many (if not all) Pakistani beneficiaries of these resource genuinely feel obliged to the Associations' leaders – they accept their leadership and show deference to them. Thus the Association's control over the various resources to cater for the needs of Edinburgh's Pakistani population constitute a major source of its social power in the community.

The second major source of power of the Association in the community is the prestige and *izzet* (honour) of its leaders. This source of power seems to be closely linked with the "official" status of leadership in the Pakistan Association. However, the relationship between the two seem to be complex and have a circular form: while pre-existing personal prestige and family *izzet* (and their other correlates such as

wealth and education etc.), play a determining role in gaining leadership status in the Association, the latter further enhances the leaders' personal prestige and family *izzet*. It is the combination of both – enhanced prestige/family honour and official leadership status – that constitutes the basis of effective power; it is at this level that associational power can become manifest in authority in the community. Now, the question is that in what form of authority the Associational power may manifest? and what are the limits of this authority?

To try to answer these questions, we can draw on Max Weber's (1964) work who distinguished three forms of authority: a, "Traditional", b, "Rational-legal", and c, "Charismatic" authority. Charismatic authority, according to Weber is a kind of exceptional (or divine) endowment of grace that is imputed by followers to leaders. Contemporary examples of this form of authority may be the authority of Mahatma Ghandi, Martin L. King, and Ayatollah Khomeini. Legal-rational authority, on the other hand, according to Weber is the authority of highly organised groups such as that of the modern state. And finally traditional authority for Weber is the semi-political decisions made by chiefs of tribes in societies where the processes of government are not fully institutionalised.

The nature and form of authority that is exercised by the Pakistan Association resembles what Weber called traditional authority. This is mainly because the Association has strong elements of informal traditional organisation in it. The formal statuses of leadership within the Association are closely connected to informal networks of friendship, kinship and other connections, thus, the exercise of authority by the Association's leaders resembles that of tribal chiefs but with a bureaucratic veneer.

The spheres in which the Association's authority is exercised are mainly domestic. Chief examples would be problematic marriages, divorce, or separation etc. Problems in business and inter-family or personal feuds are other spheres where the Association's leaders exercise their authority. In all these spheres the "Traditional" nature of the Association's authority clearly manifests the exercise of authority through the process of informal mediation. The Association's leaders normally mediate between disputing parties to "narrow down their difference, and reach a settlement that is 'fair' and acceptable to both parties" on one occasion the Vice-chairman of the Pakistan Association told me. He further added that 'We use our good will in settling disputes between Pakistanis in this area. We can do little more than using our good will'. But the vice-chairman also said that though he and his

other colleagues cannot force the disputing parties to accept the decisions they make, non-compliance to the decision is not without serious social consequences within the community. The most common sanction against non-compliance is what the vice-chairman described; 'We don't give them lift'. "Not giving lift" literally means ignoring someone's presence or importance. But the symbolic meaning of not giving lift within the community goes much beyond this; it is equivalent to non-relevance of the non-compliant in the community. This implies that they will not be listened to in the community affairs; he will be regarded as less than a *Sharif Ademy* (decent man) and less than equal member of the community. Sanctioning non-compliance in this way in effect is a form of social "outcasting" that in turn lowers one's *Izzet*, in the community. It is at this point that the exercise of authority is linked to the most powerful mechanism of social control in the community – the mechanism of "*Izzet* and *Bizati*". The individual who is "Not given lift" (ignored) and not considered as "Sharif Adami" has less *Izzet*, in the community. As I mentioned in chapter two (part II), *Izzet* is a most-dearly achieved social assets of individuals and families in Edinburgh's Pakistani community; it is rare for individuals to risk losing it.

Thus much of the authority of the Association's leaders operates through the communities informal networks of social control. Nevertheless, the Association's exercise of authority is not always confined to mediation that is backed by informal mechanisms of social control. In certain situations, the Association can use its "Formal" authority for controlling non-compliance to its decisions and in cases serious deviations from the community's norms. For example, amendment no. 4 to the Association's constitution (dated 22, May, 1988) states that:

"The executive committee will be empowered to terminate membership of any person who in their knowledge is involved in any anti-social activities and whose membership could bring disharmony in the Association".

(Constitution of P.A.E.E.S., amendment 1988:1)

The term "disharmony" and the phrase "anti-social activities" can be broadly interpreted to include non-compliance to the mediatory decisions by the Association's leader. This remains a theoretical sanction and as a threat. The problem in implementing this sanction may have counter-productive results as a leader of the Association explained:

"We are careful in terminating the membership of those members who involve in activities that are incompatible with the goals of our Association. Because he can easily turn against

the Association. But, this does not mean that we will always tolerate serious anti-social characters in the Association. Our reputation is very important to us".

In fact throughout my field work I did not observe a single case where a member was expelled from the Association. However, I did observe direct intervention of the Association's leaders to liquidate a situation that was interpreted as incompatible with the community's values: a group of young boys and girls organised "*Bhangra*" (a Pakistan equivalent of a western disco) in Napier College (now university), in Edinburgh. Some of the "Conformist" boys informed the Association's leaders about the time and place of the *Bhangra*. Three leaders of the Association directly went to the hall where *Bhangra* was taking place and stopped it. "When we appeared in the hall where *Bhangra* was, the boys immediately stopped the music, then we asked all the girls and boys to leave the place and go home. Then everybody immediately left the hall" the ex-chairman of the Pakistan Association said. *Bhangra* as a response of young Pakistani girls and boys to cultural exclusion and as an element in the reproducing of a Pakistan community is very likely to become acceptable, as time goes by. But what is important in this case is the moral and social authority of the Pakistan Association to exercise more or less effective social control in the community. Thus, it may be concluded that alongside the family, the *Biraderi* and the mosque, the P.A.E.E.S operates as an important agency of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. The main bases of the power and authority of the P.A.E.E.S lie in its leaders social influence and *Izzet* in the community, in their *Biraderi* connections and in the social, economic and managerial resources that they command. These social bases of power enables the elected body of "Office-bearers" in the P.A.E.E.S to exercise authority in the community.

PART TWO

DEVIANCE

Introduction

The first part of the thesis examined the social organisation of Edinburgh's Pakistani community and its various social institutions. The analysis mainly focused on the various social processes, mechanisms, and institutional arrangements that produced and at the same time, maintained social order in the community. In other words the main question that was asked was: How did individuals relate and how were they socially bonded to the community? The answers to this question help to explain social control and are related to the general theory of the social control. The principal question that is asked in this part is different but is closely related to the first question: how strong are the individuals' social bonds to their community/society? This question explains crime and deviance; it is related to a theory of crime/deviance.

The particular criminological theory that explains crime and deviance in terms of an individual's strength or weakness of social bond, and the one which is used as the theoretical framework for the study of deviance among a sample of sixty Pakistani boys in Edinburgh, is commonly referred to as Travis Hirschi's (1969) formulation of Social Control Theory. There is an extended discussion on the details of social control theory, its elements, basic assumptions and its place in criminological theory, in Appendix I. Here I only briefly describe the theory and its applicability as an analytical framework for the present study of deviance.

Unlike mainstream criminology's "old" question, "Why do some people break the rules of society?", criminological social control theory asks a more novel and interesting question: "Why don't we all break the rules of society?". Hirschi (1969 : 34) answers, "We would if we dared"; Steven Box (1971 : 140) further adds "... But many of us dare not because we have loved ones we fear to hurt and physical possessions, and social reputations we fear to lose". That is that most of us choose not to violate society's rules because we would pay a high social, psychological and material price for our criminal/deviant behaviour – too high to afford. Like classicist criminologists the modern social control theorists argue that we are "rational" and "calculative" in counting the pros and the cons of criminal/deviant behaviour. Those of us who lose little or nothing by violating society's rules are more likely to become involved in crime and deviance.

For Hirschi it is our social bond to society that keeps our criminal/deviant impulses in rein. He contends that people who have strong social bonds to the conventional order to society are less likely to break its rules. Conversely, those who have weak or broken social bonds to society's conventional order are more likely to break its rules.

The first most central concepts to Hirschi's statement are social bond and conventional order. The first or social bond refers to the complex web of the individual's ties to society and to its social institutions that develop in the process of his/her social interaction. For Hirschi the most important contexts for the development of an individual's social bond to the society are his/her immediate social environment such as the family, the school and peer group. These fundamental social institutions further bonds the individual to the wider societal institutions and to the social order.

The second central concept in Hirschi's social control theory, is conventional order of society. It refers to those fundamental societal values that are largely shared in society. The idea of conventional order is based on one of social control theory's basic assumptions about the existence of a degree of consensus among members of society on core societal values. As discussed in Appendix I, the control theorist assumes that certain core societal values such as safety of the individual and of his/her property, freedom of expression, tolerance, and individuals' welfare, etc. has societal currency. It is because of this assumption underlying social control theory that it is listed among "normative theories" in criminology. Because of this, it can be asserted that social control theory applies better to culturally homogeneous societies where a higher degree of normative consensus among members exists. Small-scale communities that are culturally homogeneous and with a high degree of normative integration are most appropriate social groups for the empirical "test" of social control theory.

This last point suggests the rationale for the use of Hirschi's social control theory as a theoretical framework for the present study of deviance in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. As was discussed in the first part of the thesis, a very high degree of normative integration exists in Edinburgh's Pakistani community: apart from common language, ethnic background and country of origin and customs and traditions, shared Islamic beliefs and values play a central role in the moral and normative integration of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. It is an ethno-religious community whose members share a common moral and social order. At this point it

seems appropriate to recall Etzioni's (1969) classification of social organisation into "coercive", "utilitarian" and "normative". Edinburgh's Pakistani community falls into the latter category. According to Etzioni's view social control in "normative" organisational setting operates mainly through the internalisation of norms; the predominant pattern of compliance in such setting is attitudinal conformity.

Because Hirschi's formulation of social control theory is normally "tested" through the measurement of attitudes towards conventional institutions, persons, values and beliefs, it can be more prudently examined empirically in the normative organisational setting of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Moreover, as discussed in Appendix I, the clarity of the assumptions of the social control theory, its empirical adequacy and testability makes it a very suitable theory for empirical "testing" (see Kornhauser 1978: 250-55). It is not surprising that social control model has greatly influenced the area of empirical criminological research, particularly in the United States. And yet it is little known to British criminology. The existing body of British criminological research and the most recent social sciences citation index (S.S.C.I.) indicate that the modern version of social control has never been empirically "tested" in this country. This clearly points to a gap in the existing body of criminological knowledge in the U.K. It is because of all these reasons that Hirschi's formulation of social control theory is selected for an empirical "test" in the present study.

The results of the empirical "test" of Hirschi's social control theory in a sample of sixty Pakistani boys in Edinburgh – The Pilrig Boys – are examined in Chapters V and VI of this part of the thesis. However, before this, Chapter IV describes who the Pilrig Boys are, who are deviants, and who are non-deviants among them.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PILRIG BOYS AND DEVIANCE

Introduction

As described in the Appendix on methodology, the sample of the sixty Pakistani boys in the present study are called "The Pilrig Boys" because they all gather for their cultural/religious education six days a week in a mosque-school that is situated in Pilrig Street, in the Leith area of Edinburgh. This chapter is directly based on empirical data about the Pilrig boys and is divided into two main interrelated parts:

- a. Sample characteristics and general preliminary data about the Pilrig boys.
- b. Deviance and its related typology of the Pilrig boys.

The first part of chapter consists of five closely interrelated sections. In the first I will discuss the age distribution, places of birth and family background of the boys including their parents' ability to read and write, their level of education and occupations. In the subsequent section an account of the boys' interaction with the wider society mainly through the (local Scottish) school and "best friends" is given. Also the use of television in the Pakistani home, and the exposure of the Pilrig boys to Western values 'through this "Window from the outside world" is discussed in detail in this section.

The third section follows on from this to discuss the responses of the Pilrig boys towards the wider society's culture and its influence on them. In order to examine the extent of the influence of Western values on these Muslim boys the discussion focuses on the attitudes of these boys to three important issues that are central to the social and moral order of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. They are: "Wearing of Western clothes by Pakistani women"; "Having girlfriends; and "arranged marriage". The main point to be examined in this section is that how different are the opinions of these second-generation Pakistani boys about these issues from the dominant value of the Pakistani community.

In the subsequent section the negative aspects of the Pilrig boys' interaction with the wider society - experiences of racial discrimination and harassment - are examined. The scale and forms of the racial discrimination experienced by these boys are analysed in the light of both qualitative and quantitative data. Finally the cultural and social-psychological responses of the Pilrig boys to their experiences of racial discrimination and exclusion by the wider society are analysed in the fifth section of the first part of the chapter. The question of identification and belonging - British or

Pakistani? - is the central theme. It is at this point that the discussion shifts to a slightly different but related issue, deviance.

In the second part of this chapter deviance (as a sociological category) forms the main theme of discussion. First, the definition of deviance, on a theoretical level, is critically examined. A more comprehensive definition that takes into account various dimensions of deviance and that provides a more solid theoretical framework for the present empirical study of deviance is suggested.

Then, on the basis of the field data of the present study, deviance is operationally redefined in the social and normative context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Seven fundamental norms within the social/normative context of the mosque-school and the wider Pakistani community are identified. The degree of deviance, among the Pilrig boys, is determined, on the basis of the frequency of breaking each of these norms by an individual boy, in the sample over a period of two years. This is depicted as lying on in a continuum of four degrees of deviance – from the least deviant boys to the most deviant. In the light of the ethnographic data about the boys, certain patterns of behaviour emerged about each of the four categories. Because each of the four patterns of behaviour about the sixty boys had a dominant feature, each category was named by this feature. Thus, the four categories of the Pilrig boys are: The Conformists, The Accommodationists, the Part-time-Conformists, and the Rebels. Finally, because of the close and established connection between age and crime/delinquency, in criminological theory and research, the relationship between age and deviance in the Pilrig sample is examined in the last section.

A: The Pilrig Boys

The Boys And Their Parents

Place Of Birth

The overwhelming majority of the Pilrig boys are British-born. According to the present data 81.66 percent of these boys were born in the United Kingdom, whereas only 18.33 percent of them were born in Pakistan. However most of the later category were brought by their parents to the UK when they were only 1, 2 or 3 years old.

Table 4, below, shows that among the British-born boys, in the Pilrig sample more than a third (35%) were born in Edinburgh; 1.66 percent in Glasgow; and the remaining 45 percent of the boys were born in English cities, mainly, in Huddersfield, Bradford and London.

Table 4 Place of Birth of the Pilrig Boys

City/Country	% (N)
Edinburgh	35.00 (21)
Glasgow	1.66 (1)
English Cities	45.00 (27)
Pakistan	18.33 (11)
Column Total	100.00 (60)

This indicates that a stricter definition of "second generation" would only apply to the 81.66 percent of the Pilrig boys who were born in the UK. The rest (18.33%) may be called "child migrants". But, in the context of the present study, it makes more sense to call the latter category as a "second generation" as well. This is because the Pakistan-born boys, in the present sample, were brought to the UK in their very

early ages. Their socialisation in the family, in the school(s), and their experiences in the wider social environment seem hardly different from those of their fellows who were born in the UK.

Age

The Pilrig boys come from a relatively large range of age groups. The youngest of the boys in the present sample are aged 10, whereas the oldest are 21. According to table No.5, below, the largest proportion of the boys (41.66%), in the present sample, are aged between 10 to 13 years. A minority of 8.33 percent of the boys are aged between 16 to 18 years, whereas, those who are between 19 to 21 years old constitute about a third (31.66%) of the Pilrig sample.

Table 5 Age Groups of the Pilrig Boys

Years	% (N)
10 - 12	41.66 (25)
13 - 15	18.33 (11)
16 - 18	8.33 (5)
19 - 21	31.66 (19)
Column Total	100.00 (60)

It must be mentioned that in Edinburgh's Pakistani community (and among Muslims in general) age is an important criterion on the basis of which a boy's (and also a girl's) social and religious responsibilities are determined. According to *Hafiz Sahib* (the Imam of the Pilrig mosque) the age of 14 or 15 is the age of *bolugh* (puberty). He added that, "at this age a boy is required to pray, fast and he is fully responsible for his behaviour and actions". However, some parents believed that a Pakistani boys reaches *bolugh* towards the end of his 12th year of age.

Despite the existence of a wide range of age groups in a relatively smaller sample (60 boys), age seems to be a very important sociological variable in explaining deviance and conformity among the Pilrig boys. I will return to this issue later in this Chapter. First it is important to look at the family background and social attributes of the Pilrig boys' parents.

Family Structure And Parents

The Pilrig boys appear to come from stable families that are not affected by divorce, separation, illegitimacy and bigamy. Families of only two boys are affected by bereavement. Fifty six out of the 60 Pilrig boys said that they lived with their real fathers and real mothers. Two of the boys said that because their real parents have recently returned to Pakistan, they lived with their uncles. Only one boy said that he lived with his step-father because his real father died; and another lived only with his mother because his father, a shop owner, was stabbed to death (the incident is widely considered to have been racially-motivated).

Though most of the Pilrig boys (and their parents) do not live with their grand parents, uncles and cousins, in the same house, they lived close to these relatives or/and are in close and frequent contact with them. In many cases parents of the Pilrig boys shared business/property with their immediate kin. Thus, the Pilrig boys, are not deprived from the warmth and social and psychological support that a Pakistani boy may enjoy in an actual extended household, in Pakistan. Moreover, the apparently nuclear families of the Pilrig boys are considerably large. The average family size in the present sample is 5.4.

Parents' Ability To Read And Write

Despite the fact that parents of many of the Pilrig boys have rural backgrounds in Pakistan, the overwhelming majority of them can read and write, at least in Urdu. As Table 6, below indicates, 71 percent of the boys said that their parents were able to read and write; 16.66 percent of them said that only their fathers could read and write, whereas only 6.66 percent of them said that only their mothers could read and write. A small minority of 8.33 percent of the boys said that both of their parents were illiterate.

Table 6 Parents Ability to Read and Write

Parents	% (N)
Father & Mother	71.66 (43)
Only Father	16.66 (10)
Only Mother	3.33 (2)
Neither Parent	8.33 (5)
Column Total	100.00 (60)

The figures in Table 6, above, indicate that more fathers of the Pilrig boys as compared to their mothers could read and write. This may be not surprising in the patriarchal culture of Pakistani society and of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. But it is the mothers who mainly shoulder the burden of socialisation and basic education of the Pilrig boys. Fathers often have little time to spend with their children. However, these data do not show the level of education of the parents of the Pilrig boys and their ability to read and write in English. This issue is examined next.

Parents' Level Of Education

The phrase "level of education" in the present context means the acquirement of formal educational qualifications by the parents of the Pilrig boys in Pakistan (though some parents were educated in the UK).

For the present purpose, it is important to mention that the extent of the use of English language in the primary and secondary schools in Pakistan varies according to the type and social status of these schools. For example, in many prestigious public primary schools in large cities, English language may be as much used as Urdu, whereas the main medium of education in primary schools in rural areas is, by and large, Urdu. But, the extent to which English language is used in secondary schools and colleges in rural Pakistan, generally, enables students to write, read and speak in English, more or less, efficiently.

With this brief background, the present empirical data indicate that more than three fourths (75.46%) of fathers and more than a half (52.82%) of mothers of the Pilrig boys can, at least, read and write in English.

According to Table 7, below, almost two fifths (37.73%) fathers of the Pilrig boys and a little more than one fifth (20.75%) of their mothers have college/university education. Once again, almost two fifths (37.33%) of the boys' fathers have secondary education, whereas about a third (32.07%) of their mothers have this level of education. 13.20 percent of fathers and 18.20 percent of mothers of the Pilrig boys have primary education. As far as the informal education (home/mosque based) is concerned a much larger proportion (28.30%) of mothers of the Pilrig boys as compared to the proportion of their fathers are informally educated.

Table 7 Parents' Level of Education

Level of Education	<u>Father</u> % (N)	<u>Mother</u> % (N)
College/University	37.73 (20)	20.75 (11)
Secondary	37.73 (20)	32.07 (17)
Primary	13.20 (7)	18.68 (10)
Informal	11.32 (6)	28.30 (15)
Column Total	100.00 (53)	100.00 (53)

(1)The base number for this set of data is 53. Seven of the respondents were not able to answer the question about their parents' education.

The above table reveals that more fathers have higher levels of education than mothers, in the Pilrig sample. As I mentioned earlier, it would have been more important if more mothers had higher levels of education, as it is mothers who play a crucial role in the socialisation and pre-school education of Edinburgh's Pakistani boys and girls. Nevertheless, as all mothers (except the 8.33% shown by Table 6) have at least some education, they still make important contribution to the process of cultural and religious socialisation of their children.

Parents' Occupation

Edinburgh's Pakistani community is, mainly, a "businessmen community" whose economic activities by and large, concentrate in the private sector. According to Table 8, below, a majority of 56.66 percent of the Pilrig boys' parents work in their own shops; one tenth (10%) of them run their whole-sale businesses; 8.33 percent run their own restaurants, backing factories and guest-houses; 6.66 percent work in their post-offices, news agencies and as *Imam* in the mosque. Only one tenth (10%) of parents in this sample work as engineers and accountants. The rest 8.33 percent of the fathers are economically inactive among whom 5 percent are unemployed and 3.33 percent are retired from work.

Moreover the table shows that the overwhelming majority (73.33%) of mothers of the Pilrig boys work as (full-time) housewives; 13.33 percent of the mothers help their husbands in the family-shops; 6.33 percent do sewing outside home, and another 6.33 percent of the Pilrig boys' mothers work as doctors, teachers and community workers.

Table 8 Parents' Occupation

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Mother</u>
	% (N)		% (N)
Shopkeeping	56.66 (34)	Housework	74.33 (44)
Business (Wholesale)	10.00 (6)	Helping in the family Shop	13.33 (8)
Restaurant, Bakery, and Guest House	8.33 (5)	Sewing	6.66 (4)
Post Office, News Agency, Imam (Muslim Priest)	6.66 (4)	Doctor, Teaching and Community Work	6.66 (4)
Engineering, Accountancy	10.00 (6)		
Unemployed	5.00 (3)		
Retired	3.33 (2)		
Column Total	100.00 (60)		100.00 (60)

The data in table 8 indicate that only about a fourth of mothers in the Pilrig sample are involved in activities, outside the house. But, in fact half of these mothers (those reported to be helping their husbands in their shops) basically work as housewives; they come down to the shop that is often adjacent to their flat, when they have not much to do in the house. Thus, only about one seventh (13.33%) of all mothers in the Pilrig sample are involved in full-time activities outside the house. All the rest (86.33%) of the mothers are housewives.

Establishing relationships between parents' (mainly fathers) type of occupation and their level of monthly or yearly income is a very difficult task, in the present study. First of all some of the respondents were not willing to answer questions about their families' monthly or yearly income. Many other of the respondents did not know how much income their families have. (The questions about family-income were finally omitted after "pretesting" the present questionnaire).

Secondly, categorising types of occupations, in the present study, and then placing them in an arbitrary order of low, middle and high incomes seem to me misleading. For example it would not be correct to assume that an owner of baking factory or of a big restaurant has more income than a shopkeeper. This is because many shop owners in the present sample own one, two or more shops (and other property). Similarly it would be incorrect to assume that a shop owner has more income than professionals such as doctors, engineers, accountants, and vice versa. Thus, it may be said that parents of the overwhelming majority of the Pilrig boys are self-employed businessmen/shop owners. They are, by and large well-to-do, economically.

The Boys In The Wider Society

The School

Unlike some multi-cultural cities where the younger members of racial/cultural minority groups tend to go in large numbers to specific schools (for certain racial/cultural reasons), the Pilrig boys do not seem to have such tendencies. They attend various schools and colleges that are scattered throughout the city of Edinburgh. According to the present data the only school that is being attended by a relatively larger number (16.66%) of the Pilrig boys is "James Gillespie", in

central Edinburgh. However, there were no specific reasons for the boys to attend this particular school except for its central location and easy access to it.

The boys, particularly, those at the primary level, are immensely interested in attending their schools. The culturally-induced aspirations for education and strong parental encouragement on the one hand, and meeting new friends in a new environment with better educational and recreational facilities, on the other hand, seem to be the major reasons for the boys' enthusiasm for attending schools. A Pilrig boy in James Gillespie's primary school told me:

"I like my school a lot, because most of my teachers are polite. I have lots of friends at school and wouldn't like to leave that school. We get maths every day except on a Friday, because Friday is our fun-day-no work! We also get a sweet at the end of the day from our teacher".

The content of what this boy said clearly indicates that he is well-adjusted to the social and psychological environment of the school. Despite his different ethnic/cultural background, the boy feels that he is one of the boys in the school. This pro-school attitude is shared by most of the Pilrig boys. Another boy said:

"I like my school very much. Our teachers are very kind and polite. They only get angry when you get into trouble. Then they give you punishment exercises. We do a few projects every year, and we study-out, sometimes. We do a lot of exciting things, like fun-run, sponsor swim and can can. I am going to stay in this school until I am about 18 years old, so I get more education and I will get paid more."

As the above passage shows, the boy continually refers to himself and his class fellows as "we" and "us". The boy's interest and participation in his school's collective educational and recreational activities seem to indicate his full involvement in the educational process.

As it will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six in details, a large majority of the Pilrig boys have strong attachments to their local Scottish schools. Most of them regularly attended their school; they cared much about what their teachers thought of them; and they liked their schools a great deal. Moreover, a large majority of the Pilrig boys had a high level of scholastic performance.

What has been mentioned seems to suggest that the school is the Pilrig boys' bridge to an active participation in the cultural, social and (future) professional life of the

wider society. It also provides the boys opportunities for making new friends outside their own community.

"Best Friends"

As is mentioned in Chapter Five (section of attachment to peers) the actual friendship pattern of the Pilrig boys are generally located within their kinship/friendship groups. The closest friend in the Pilrig sample were, normally, members of the same kin group who were related to each other through the ties of blood and/or marriage. These friends and also kin called each other "bhaie jan", brother/older brother, and "cazan" (cousin). It is this pattern of friendship within kinship that provided an actual framework of intimacy, mutual trust, and identification for the boys in the Pilrig sample. Nevertheless, the Pilrig boys did have friendships with non-Pakistani boys from the indigenous population in Edinburgh. They called many of their non-Pakistani peers "best friends". It seems that the boys used the phrase "best friends" somewhat indiscriminately for whoever they sat with in the same class and/or played with in the same playground. It is within this broader meaning of "best friendship" that the Pilrig boys' circle of friendship, seemingly, goes beyond the boundaries of kinship and of the Pakistani community. It was within this context that all the Pilrig boys were asked: "Think about your best friends that you have got. Are they?:"

Table 9 The Pilrig Boys' "Best Friends"

Response Category	% (N)
<i>"All Pakistani/Mostly Pakistani"</i>	40.00 (24)
<i>"About half Pakistani/Half Whites (and others)"</i>	43.33 (26)
<i>"All Whites/Mostly Whites"</i>	16.67 (10)
All	100.00 (60)

Table 9 above, shows that while two fifths (40%) of the Pilrig boys said that all or most of their "best friends" are Pakistani boys, more than two fifths (43.33%) of

them said that about half of their best friends are white boys and about half of them Pakistani boys. Only about one sixth (16.67%) of the boys said that all or most of their "best friends" are white boys.

As the above mentioned data indicate, the apparently widened circles of friendship have given the Pilrig boys an opportunity to interact closely with non-Pakistani boys in the school, in the play ground, during camping tours and in many other events.

Though because of their experiences of racial discrimination and harassment in the wider society (see pp...) the Pilrig boys have been discouraged to establish close ties of friendship with boys from the indigenous population. Nevertheless these boys' contacts and interactions with their non-Pakistani "best friends" can hardly be without important social consequences. The Pilrig Pakistani boys learn and have to conform to certain manners and values of a student "sub-culture". They learn about "Rangers" and "Celtic"; about "Discos" and "Pubs" and about what are the best movies on television.

Television

The typical Pakistani home in Edinburgh is a small world in it's own right, a world that represents Pakistan in Edinburgh in some important ways. A quick description of this small world is possible by focusing on the family's sitting room-a room that represents Pakistan physically, socially and psychologically.

Probably, the first things that would attract a guest's attention are a Pakistani political leader's large photo, a family photo, a scenery from Pakistan, and verses from the Holy Quran (in Arabic script) that normally decorate walls of the sitting room. Sometimes, a framed verse of Holy Quran is put on a book-shelf that contains a copy of the Holy Quran and a dozen volumes of Islamic and Urdu books. On the ground, modern furniture and sofas are half covered with hand woven Pakistan made cushions. The daily "Jhang", a popular Urdu newspaper is often on a coffee table in the room.

Most family members, including men, wear the traditional Pakistani clothing-Shalwar-Kamis. They warmly and intimately talk, joke and gossip with each other in Urdu/Punjabi. When parents and other adults talk on somewhat serious topics, the children listen to them very politely. Moreover, the smell of hot Pakistani food that

is being cooked in the kitchen is often felt; An Urdu/Punjabi song that is often played on the stereo system further add to the Pakistaniness of the social and psychological atmosphere of the sitting room.

But, this small world of a different moral and social order, has an open window to the surrounding world-this window is the "irresistible" television, as a Pakistani parent put it.

In the Pilrig sample, virtually every one of the sixty boys had a colour television set at their homes. Most of the boys said that they also had VCRs. For these boys, watching television is a major indoors recreation. The overwhelming majority of the boys said that if they did not have "something very important to do", they watched television. I will return to what the boys most often watched on television but, first it is important to know about the attitudes of parents and the community to this issue. Do parents restrict their children from watching television?

All parents, the Mosque and the local Pakistani newspapers are aware and, to some extent, concerned about the influence of television over young Pakistanis in Edinburgh, and in the UK. Nevertheless, most parents, the Mosque and the local Pakistani press regard the television as a medium of both "good" and "bad" influence over the younger members of the Pakistani community. For example the weekly *Akhbar-E-Watan* while addressing Pakistani children in the UK, wrote:

"Certain educational and informative programmes of the [British] television are admirable. But the [British] television's corrupting programmes are the enemy of our natural emotional delicacies and are against our high moral values and norms". (My translation from Urdu, *Akhbar-e-Watan*, 19.11.1989)

The weekly newspaper warned parents about the "corrupting" influences of the British television on their children. The view of *Hafiz Sahib* is in line with that of the weekly *Akhbar-E-Watan*, mentioned above: "Some programmes of the television are corrupting, but others are good and useful. Parents should not allow their children to watch the corrupting programmes", *Hafiz Sahib* said. All programmes that included violence and naked females were considered "corrupting". Some commercial advertisements were also included in this category.

Most parents of the Pilrig boys are in favour of a selective watching of television by their children. Parents tend to discourage their children from watching "corrupting"

TV programmes and films by warning them about the fatal consequences of this behaviour in this world and in the life after life. However, only some parents try to impose physical restrictions on their children to watch television selectively or at all. But, these parents do not seem to be very successful, as one parent complained: "If you do not allow them to watch television they get bored. Then they do worst things at home or go outside". This may be the situation in the minority of cases. The most important fact is that most of the boys, particularly the younger ones, accept their parents moralising message about the "selective watching" of the British TV's four channels. One of the boys in the Mosque school summarised the views of his classmates after a 30 minutes discussion about "watching television" as follows:

"We think that television is a good and bad thing. You learn from some programmes about this country and about the world; It is also great fun. But watching dirty programmes and films is *gunah* [sin]; They are against our religion."

Interestingly, most of the boys had full knowledge of the daily TV programmes. But which of the TV programmes did the boys most often watch? Children's BBC, cartoons, Home and Away, Dr Who, Happy Days, Eastenders, Casualty and Neighbours were among the programmes that the Pilrig boys most often watched. Neighbours, was, particularly, the favourite TV drama of the boys. Now, the question is: to what extent are some of the values that are normally portrayed in the stories of Ramsay St Neighbours (i.e. pre marital relationship and its expression), compatible with the values of Edinburgh's Pakistani community?

Parents generally do not have a clear-cut answer for this question. Whatever the reason, they prefer to remain quiet about the extent of the exposure of their children to "western values". But the answer of many of the Pilrig boys to the above question is "it is OK!". This may indicate the extent of the influence of the wider society over the Pilrig boys-an issue to be examined next.

Influence Of The Wider Society

It has been noticed in the previous section that interaction of the Pilrig boys with the wider society through school, friends and television has brought them face to face with British social manners, values and morality. But, certain sets of these values and morality are still considered as "foreign" in Edinburgh's Pakistani community to which most of these boys have strong belonging. The present section examines the extent to which the Pilrig boys have been influenced by the values, of the wider

British society. However, since the English language, particularly the local Edinburgh accent, plays an important role in the interaction of the boys with the wider society, it is important to see, first, that how well the Pilrig boys speak the English language.

The English Language

Many theorists and researchers of race relations have argued that learning the language of the host society by members of ethnic groups is the first step in their assimilation to that society. (see Gordon 1964; Robinson 1982; Sheu 1983). Though the success of the assimilation process may depend on many other variables, it is common sense that knowing the language of the host society is the major means for members of ethnic groups to communicate with that society; It is their key to a possible participation in the general social and institutional life of the host society.

All the Pilrig boys were able to speak, read and write in English. Nevertheless, those who spoke English correctly and with Edinburgh accents were known in the mosque-class, as speaking English "very well". The boys who spoke English correctly but with a mixture of English and Pakistani accent were considered as speaking "well". There were a few boys who communicated in English with a Pakistani accent and thought that they spoke English "fairly well". Thus all the Pilrig boys were asked:

"How well do you speak the English language? Do you think that you speak it:"

Table 10 The Pilrig Boys' ability to speak the English Language

Response Category	% (N)
"Very Well"	75.00 (45)
"Well"	23.33 (14)
"Fairly Well"	1.67 (1)
Column Total	100.00 (60)

The data in the above table indicate that three fourths of the boys spoke English not only correctly but with the exact Edinburgh accent. About one fourth (23.33%) of

the boys spoke English correctly but not with a mixture of English and Pakistani accent. Only a negligible minority (1.67%) said that they communicated fairly well in English.

The Pilrig boys took pride in speaking English accurately with an Edinburgh accent. Most of the boys spoke in English among themselves. In fact many seemed to speak English more fluently than their mother tongue, Urdu/Punjabi. However, the Pilrig boys were strongly encouraged by their parents to speak in Urdu/Punjabi at home. They were also taught Urdu in the Mosque school. Parents' emphasis on Urdu/Punjabi language was not only because it was an important element of the cultural/ethnic identity of their British- born children. It was also due to the fact that some parents were unable to communicate with their children when they spoke in English, particularly in the local accent!

The data at hand show that while the boys spoke both Urdu/Punjabi and English languages, their proficiency of the English language, particularly of the local accent, has enabled the Pilrig Boys to communicate more efficiently with the wider Scottish society than their parents do: They generally felt more comfortable with speaking in English than in Urdu/Punjabi. Would this mean that these boys also have more liberal attitudes towards some core values of their community?

Attitudes Towards Pakistani Women's Clothes

One of the important social values and a self evident feature of the cultural identity of Edinburgh's Pakistani community is the clothes of its female members. *Shalwar-Kamis*, loose trousers and a long blouse, with (or without) a *Dupatta*, head scarf, are normally worn by Pakistani women in Edinburgh.

For most Pakistani men and women these traditional clothes of Pakistani women are not merely a strong element in expressing their cultural identity. Also, wearing these clothes are thought to be carrying an implicit message of decency and modesty against the "dangers" of what a Pakistani father of young girls called it an "environment of provocations and seductions". He added with humour that wearing *Shalwar-Kamis* is like a declaration of "No s** please; we are Asians!". Indeed, the more serious meaning of this humour is shared by many men and women in the Pakistani community in Edinburgh. For most of them wearing *Shalwar-Kamis* represents a woman's decency and modesty, and therefore reflects positively on her good reputation and on her family's *Izzet* (honour). In fact, it is the woman's

reputation and her family's *Izzet* that matters; any damage to the two have very serious social consequences for both the individual woman and for her family (see Part II, Chapter II).

In contrast to what has just been mentioned, some British-born Pakistani boys (and also girls) see wearing of *Shalwar-Kamis* by young Pakistani girls as "a slavish following of culture" as a college student put it. He added that wearing these clothes by Pakistani women is a "self-inflicted exclusion from the society and this invites racial prejudice". Interestingly, these young boys say that it is alright for older Pakistani women to wear *Shalwar-Kamis*, but not for young girls. I asked the boys why? "young girls have more contact with the people in this country. They go to school, to shopping and other (public) places" One of the boys said, while others agreed with the answer. Another boy added that wearing *Shalwar-Kamis* by Pakistani girls, in this country is "just unsuitable; they are not attractive to us; if you see what I mean!"

This changing attitude of some young Pakistani boys towards tradition seems to have created a quiet controversy between them and the elders who dominate the community. The situation may be indicating, simply, an inter-generation gap. But for many parents and elders in the community, it is more than this: The influence on their British-born children by the values of the surrounding "western" culture. Against this background, the Pilrig boys were asked. *"What do you think about Pakistani girls wearing western clothes? Do you think that:"*

Table 11 The Pilrig Boys' Attitudes towards Wearing of Western Clothes by Pakistani Girls

Response Category	% (N)
<i>"There is nothing wrong with it"</i>	15.00 (9)
<i>"There is nothing wrong with it as long as it is decent"</i>	41.67 (25)
<i>"It is wrong"</i>	26.67 (16)
<i>"I do not have an exact idea about it"</i>	16.67 (10)
Column Total	100.00 (60)

Table 11 shows that a significant minority (15%) of the Pilrig boys see nothing wrong with the wearing of western clothes by Pakistani girls in the UK, whereas more than two fifths (41.67%) of them accept this practice provided it does not go beyond the limits of "decency". On the other hand, more than a fifth (26.67%) of the boys say that wearing western clothes is absolutely wrong, whereas 16.67 percent of them say that they do not have a definite stand on this issue.

When the first and second categories of the responses in the above table are merged, the general picture of the data becomes further clearer: In principle, for more than a half (56.62%) of the Pilrig boys wearing of western clothes by Pakistani girls, in this country, is acceptable. For the rest it is either wrong or have no idea about this issue.

These data indicate a significant departure from the dominant view in the community that, generally, disapproves of western clothes for Pakistani girls. But, it seems to be a moderate and reformist departure, as the data clearly indicates. Another dividing issue among some young boys and most parents and elders in Edinburgh's Pakistani community is whether Pakistani boys can have girlfriends.

"Having Girlfriends"

In Edinburgh's Pakistani community, where pre-marital chastity is one of the central values of its moral and normative order, the idea of having a girlfriend is "foreign" and un-Islamic. Most parents, elders and the religious leaders of the community strongly disapprove of pre-marital relationships/friendships with women. They argue that having a girlfriend is not only a violation of Islamic rules, but it is a serious threat to the formation of a stable Muslim/Pakistani family and to the functioning of the social organisation of the extended kinship. One elder of the community explained this argument as follows:

"First of all having a girlfriend is not allowed in Islam-full stop! Secondly, once one of our boys goes out with a girl, he may marry her without his parents' agreement and that will not work. Even if the boy does not marry his girlfriend, he may continue seeing her after a proper marriage [arranged marriage]. And this will destroy his family life, as simple as this".

But, many Pakistani boys are not totally convinced by this argument. They say that "having a girlfriend" is a useful and even necessary experience before the formation

of a happy and stable family. For these boys it is through the relationship with members of the opposite sex that a boy could choose the "right" partner of his life. Some of the boys who see no escape from "arranged marriage" support the idea of "having girlfriends" simply because, "we should have some fun before our marriages are arranged", a Pilrig boy and his friends, said.

Parents, in general, are aware about the differences between their attitudes and the attitudes of their British-born children towards pre-marital chastity. Most parents believe that the "liberal" attitude of their children towards pre-marital chastity are due to the influence of the values of the surrounding society.

But, the question is that to what extent is the idea of "having girlfriends" acceptable to the Pilrig boys?: And how wide spread is this general idea among them?

To try to answer these questions, the Pilrig boys were asked: *"what do you think about Pakistani boys having girlfriends? Do you think that it:"*

Table 12 The Pilrig Boys' Attitudes Towards the Idea of Having a Girlfriend

Response Category	% (N)
<i>"Is alright"</i>	23.33 (14)
<i>"Is alright if the idea is just friendship or intention of marriage"</i>	28.33 (17)
<i>"Is alright if the girl is Pakistani"</i>	18.33 (11)
<i>"Is alright if the girl is white"</i>	1.67 (1)
<i>"Is wrong"</i>	28.33 (17)
Column Total	100.00 (60)

The data in Table 12, reveal that there exists a surprisingly large gap between the apparently dominant morality of the community regarding "having girlfriends" and the Pilrig boys' attitudes towards this morality: Only 28.33 percent of the boys

conform to the community's morality according to which it is wrong for Pakistani boys to have girlfriends. All the rest, 71.67 percent, say that, in general, it is alright to have girlfriends.

Having said this, among the latter category of the boys only 23.33 percent of them radically depart from the community's morality, saying that there is nothing wrong with having girlfriends. A comparatively larger proportion (28.33%) of the boys say that "having girlfriends" is alright provided the motive behind the idea is "just friendship" or the "intention of marriage". This means that the latter category of the boys are basically loyal to the community's values and morality. They only interpret the "migrated morality" of the community in accordance to the realities of their altered social circumstances. Similar to this position is the attitude of the 18.33 percent of the boys who say that "having girlfriends" is alright if the girl is a Pakistani. This category of the boys may or may not be loyal to the community's morality about pre-marital chastity, but they know that a relationship with a Pakistani girl can hardly be without serious social consequences. That is to say that if a girl-boy's relationship is discovered, it will be very difficult for the boy particularly to escape an eventual marriage. This is because the reputation of the girl is at stake in this situation.

As a whole, the data at hand indicate that the attitudes of the majority of the Pilrig boys regarding "having a girlfriend" have departed from the apparently dominant morality and values of their community. Nevertheless this departure is, by and large, moderate and "reformist" rather than radical and rebellious.

Now the question is would this departure from the community's values have implications for the institution of "arranged marriage"?

Arranged Marriage

As mentioned above in Chapter Two, arranged marriage (in its various forms) is the normal way of marital union between potential partners among Edinburgh's Pakistani population. Parents and (close kin), by and large, choose and make arrangements for the marriage of their sons and daughters. Quite often the potential partners are members of the same kinship group or *biraderi*. This would normally mean that the potential husband and wife have some familiarity with each other before their marriage is arranged. But the familiarity does not necessarily mean that they have made the choice to be future partners. In some cases male and female kin

may have a romantic attachment to each other or a desire to marry. In other cases the future partners may have hardly seen each other. In any case it is mainly parents who play the major role in the choice and the arrangement process of their sons' and daughters' marriages.

Parents and the community's elders, generally, justify the existence and continuation of the institution of arranged marriage. Most parents argue that the institution of arranged marriage has not merely migrated with them to the UK, it is also, and more importantly, a necessary element in the stability and social functioning of the Pakistani family, kinship and the community as a whole.

However, many British-born young Pakistani openly question the practice of arranged marriage. Some of these boys reject the whole institution of arranged marriage and see it as the cause of the unhappiness for some Pakistani families. Others among the young Pakistanis in Edinburgh only disagree with what they called "too much" interference and the exercise of power (including manipulation) by parents and kin in choosing wives for them. That is to say, these youngsters want to have more say in the choice of their future wives, while basically agreeing with the institution of arranged marriage.

Many parents and elders are again quick to blame influence of "western" values and culture for the increasingly changing attitudes of their sons and daughters towards arranged marriage. One elder of the Edinburgh's Pakistani community described this situation as "A price that we pay for saving the pound. Which one is more important, our religion and custom or money?". Then Mr A.G. answered his question himself by saying that religion and customs were "more important". Mr A.G. and other elders in the community showed their serious concern about the changing attitudes of a growing number of Pakistani boys and girls in Edinburgh towards arranged marriage. But the important question is that how far have these youngsters' attitudes changed towards arranged marriage?

To try to find an answer, the Pilrig boys were asked: *"In which of the following ways would you like to marry? would you like to marry by:"*

Table 13 The Pilrig Boys' Attitudes towards Arranged Marriages

Response Category	% (N)
<i>"Your parents' choice as they regard a girl suitable for you"</i>	22.03 (13)
<i>"Your parents' choice with leaving you the right to say "no"</i>	37.29 (22)
<i>"Your own choice with leaving your parents the right to say "no"</i>	22.03 (13)
<i>"Your own choice alone"</i>	18.64 (11)
Column Total	100.00 (60)

The above table reveals that while 22.03 percent of the Pilrig boys accept their marriages to be totally arranged by their parents, a much larger proportion (37.29) would like to have the right to say no in a marriage that is basically arranged for them by parents. On the other hand, 22.03 percent of the boys would like to choose their future partners by themselves with leaving their parents only the right to say no; and a significant minority (18.64%) of the boys want to marry according to their own choices alone.

The contrast between the boys who, in principle, accept arranged marriages and those who do not, becomes more striking when the sum of the first two response categories is compared with the sum of the last two: About three fifths (59.32%) of the Pilrig boys either totally or conditionally accept their marriages to be arranged by their parents, whereas about two fifths (40.67%) of them would basically like to choose their partners by themselves. That is to say that the majority of the Pilrig boys still accept arranged marriage, in one or another form.

Nevertheless, the fact that about two fifths of the boys would basically like to marry by their own choice can have important consequences for the institutions of the Pakistani family and for the extended kinship in Edinburgh—a worry that is shared by many Pakistani elders in Edinburgh

The Climate Of Race Relations

The interaction of the Pilrig boys with the wider British society has not always been as smooth as it has been described in the past few pages. The kindness of teachers in the school, the friendliness of classmates and the consequent warm approval and adoption (to varying extents) of certain "western" values by the Pilrig boys represent only one side of their interaction with the wider society. The other relates to these boys' unpleasant experiences from interacting with some members of the wider society on the street, in the playground and in other public places. These unpleasant experiences and unhappy memories of the Pilrig boys are, by and large, caused by the more or less reoccurring verbal abuse and occasional physical attacks on them. The more or less reoccurring nature and the apparently racial context of these incidents seem to have created a fear in the minds of the Pilrig boys that they are always the potential targets of verbal abuse and physical attacks by members of the indigenous population. However, unspecific verbal abuse and many physical attacks are not necessarily racially motivated. Incidents of physical attacks, mugging and other forms of street violence against members of the general population are one feature of urban life in Scotland and elsewhere. Thus, in order to specify the context of the verbal abuse and physical attacks that, the Pilrig boys say they have suffered, the boys were asked: *"Have you been treated badly because of your race/colour?"*

Within this specified context of the question, 91.66 percent of the boys (55 individuals) answer with "yes", and the rest, 8.33 percent (5 individuals) with "No". But what did bad treatment that is due to one's colour/race mean to the Pilrig boys? Many things the boys say; these mainly include: calling racial names; racial verbal abuse; insulting sign-language; "spitting on you", "staring at you as if you were a piece of shxx", "chasing", "battering"; "slagging about" and "physical attacks". While many examples of the above-mentioned bad treatment clearly have a racial context, some of them such as chasing, battering and physical attacks may still be general acts of hooliganism and street violence. But many of the victims of these acts in the Pilrig sample said that these acts of violence against them were often preceded by racial verbal abuse. This particularly happened when the Pilrig boys replied to such verbal abuse. Nevertheless, the data at hand reveal that among those Pilrig boys who said that they were treated badly because of their race/colour, only one fifth (11 individuals) of them reported physical violence against them. The rest four fifths (44 individuals) reported calling of racial names and verbal abuse.

These names and verbal abuses included very interesting words, phrases and sentences. The most commonly used words and phrases were: "Paki" (also spelled/pronounced "Paki" and "Pukie"), "Paki-bastard"; "blackie"; and "blackie bastard". Other relatively less commonly used words were: "chocolate", "lulee", "pad", "monkey", "sambo", "wog", "nigger" and "coon". Some of the most commonly used sentences included: "Go back to your country"; "Go back where you have come from" and "Go back to your shxxland".

All of the Pilrig boys said that the above mentioned words, phrases and sentences were "very insulting" and "hurting". Even words like and "chocolate"? I asked the boys that why these words were insulting to them. The boys did not know why such words were insulting, saying only that "they are just hurting" and "they are used as insults". But one older boy added philosophically: "Any word boys use with bad meaning for long time becomes an insult. And when it is used in that situation [atmosphere of tension], it really hurts, if you understand what I mean". I understand that the boy probably meant that no word has an inherent good or bad meaning; It is the socially constructed and reconstructed meanings of words and their situational usage that convey "bad" or "good" messages. Thus, the meanings of "Paki" and "chocolate" can have different meanings in different contexts and situations.

In order to investigate how frequently the Pilrig boys experienced the kind of bad treatment that has been discussed so far (racial verbal abuse and physical attacks etc.) the boys were asked: "*....how often have you experienced this kind of treatment? would you say:*"

Table 14 Frequency of Experiencing (Racial) Bad Treatment

Response Category	% (N)
<i>"Almost everyday"</i>	10.91 (6)
<i>"About once or twice a week"</i>	23.64 (13)
<i>"About once or twice a month"</i>	10.91 (6)
<i>"About once or twice in several months"</i>	54.00 (30)
Column Total	100.00 (55)

Table 14 indicates that 10.91 percent of the Pilrig boys said that they experienced (racial) bad treatment almost every day, whereas, 23.64 percent of them had such experiences about once or twice a week. Another 10.91 percent of the boys said that they experienced (racial) bad treatment about once or twice a month, whereas 54 percent of them said that they had such experiences only once or twice in several months.

The overall picture of Table 14 indicate that the majority (54%) of the Pilrig boys experienced (racial) bad treatment less frequently; and a significant minority of 45 percent of the boys experienced this kind of treatment relatively more frequently. The kind of climate of race-relations in which the Pilrig boys live, it seems, has had a deep psychological impact on them, both as individuals and as a group. Calling of the "racialised" names such as "Paki", "blackie", "sambo", "nigger" etc. and "go back to your country", has made the boys feel that they are not members of the wider British society; and that despite having been brought up in this country, these boys feel as if they were outsiders in it. This has important consequences for these boys' social identity.

Identification: British Or Pakistani?

The Pilrig boys' most common response to the existing climate of race relation is more latent and defensive. They respond to their experiences of racial discrimination and harassment through "walking together", "going out together, and to sticking together", as one of the boys put it. But, the social functions of "sticking together" goes much beyond a simple defensive mechanism against exclusion and fear of violence that they boys see as "racial". "Sticking together" has important social implications for the sharpening of these boys' sense of ethnicity, cultural belonging and for a more marked separation between "us" and "them". Indeed, this has been happening as one of the boys told me that "if we are Pakis, they are *Gorahs*. *Gorah* is a name that is used by Pakistanis in Edinburgh (and elsewhere in the UK) for the indigenous British population. The literal meaning of "*gorah*" in Urdu is simply white. But, in the context of the existing race relations, the meaning of "*gorah*" is as much loaded and pejorative as that of "Paki": "A *gorah* is always rude to his parents and has no respect for them; he gets drunk; he sleeps around even with men; he does not actually believe in God, he just pretends to...." One of the boys gave this description of "*gorah*" and the others endorsed it. This negative description of the indigenous members of the society very much seems to be a reaction to the racial exclusion and intimidation that these boys experience in the wider society (see the

you feel proud of being a Briton/British citizen?). Nevertheless, the ethnographic data that I have collected, to some extent, make up for this gap in the present study.

As mentioned previously in this Chapter, many of the Pilrig boys take pride in speaking the English language accurately, of their educational achievements in Britain, and of their understanding of modern British culture and adopting certain British values and social manners. These boys know that they are the citizens of Great Britain and it is their adopted country. But, most of these boys are not confident enough to call themselves Scottish/British. In a group discussion on the issue of cultural identity one of the older boys in the Pilrig sample said:

"..you know that I am born in Edinburgh; I am brought up here. For me this is my country and I speak the language like any other Scottish person; I am like any other Scottish person. But when I meet people at parties or somewhere, they start talking to me as if I have just come from Pakistan-they are often sarcastic. Sometimes, when I introduce myself as Scottish, people do not believe me; they laugh!"

This view of the college student was shared by most boys in the group. Some other boys said that "we are Pakistani Scots". Two younger boys said that "our parents are Pakistanis; but we are not, we are Scottish". But these two boys were ridiculed as one boy told them that "even if you become Robert Burns, you will still be a Paki!" Then all the boys laughed.

The general ethnographic evidence suggests that exclusion and the non-acceptance of the Pilrig boys as Scottish/British by the wider society seems to be discouraging these boys to identify themselves with Scotland/Britain (many of them, in fact, would like to do so). But since cultural belonging and identification fulfil certain social and psychological needs of these boys (and probably of all human beings), they have little choice but to seek them in their ethnic/cultural roots that are vividly represented in the social institutions of Edinburgh's Pakistani community-a community that is in some important ways in the process of becoming a small-scale society within the broader Scottish/British society. Now the question is that to what extent do the Pilrig boys conform to, or deviate from the norms and values of this small-scale society - Edinburgh's Pakistani community. But first it is necessary to see what deviance is.

B: Deviance

The existing literature on deviance indicate that sociologists of deviance have found it difficult to agree on a general definition of deviance (see for review of the literature Gibbons and Jones 1975 and Clinard and Meier 1985). Various factors seem to be responsible for the difficulties in reaching a general definition: On the one hand, deviance is a social phenomenon that is relative to culture and time. That is to say that the definitions of many forms of deviance vary from culture to culture, and from time to another. Therefore every culture and time would require different definitions of deviance. Moreover, the cultural and normative complexities of most modern societies add to these difficulties. On the other hand, the fluidity and situationality of the meaning of "acts" in a world that is "phenomenological" to some sociologists would make it extremely difficult to have a general definition of deviance.

Nevertheless, students of the sociology of deviance and crime have attempted to define deviance in general terms. They have approached the definition of deviance in many different ways. These different ways of defining deviance may be merged into two general approaches: The first approach is of those sociologists and criminologists who have broadly defined deviance in terms of activities that violate the social norms of a particular society. For example one proponent of this approach says that:

"Deviance constitutes only those deviations from norms in a disapproved direction such that the deviation elicits, or is likely to elicit if detected, a negative sanction" (Clinard and Meier 1985:7)

On the other hand, proponents of the second approach contend that deviance is not an innate quality of acts; instead deviance is a behaviour that is labelled so in a particular social-interactive context. For example, according to Becker's widely quoted statement:

"Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitute deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders...Deviance is not a quality of acts that a person commits, but rather a consequence of application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender". The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is what people so label" (Becker 1963:9)

It can be clearly seen in the above definitions of deviance that the first emphasises norms and those acts that violate the norms; and the second places strong emphasis on the social contexts in which norms (or rules) are created and applied to those who violate them. These differential emphases on elements of a definition, leave both the above-mentioned definitions less than satisfactory. The first definition seems to be too general and vague: It is insensitive to the complexities of the social context where deviance takes place. The second definition is clearly a half definition-a definition of "secondary" deviance that does not include "primary deviance" (the first involves actors whose self-concepts are affected through labelling processes by the agencies of social control whereas the second actors whose self-concepts have not been affected).

This is not the place to go into further details of the controversy over the definition of deviance. Nevertheless, it is important to say that it is possible to suggest a relatively "balanced" definition of deviance that accommodates the different emphases and concerns of the proponents of both the "normative" and of the "labelling" approaches to the definition of deviance. Before a detailed empirical description of deviance in the context of the present study is given, I suggest the following relatively "balanced" theoretical definition: Deviance refers to the violation of norms of a particular community/society by its members, at a particular time, whether the "violators" are publicly labelled as deviants or not, and whether a sanction is applied or not.

First of all, according to the above definition, deviance is a "meaningful violation" of norms-a violation whose meaning and implications are understood both by the community and by its violating member. Thus deviance can only take place within the socio-normative context of a particular social group, and by its members alone. Only member of a Muslim or a Jewish community can commit a deviant act when he/she eats pork; only a Sikh will be deviant when he/she removes his/her body hair. However this is not to suggest that non-members' violations of the norms of a community are always exempted. Neither is this to suggest that certain norms are not shared by all (or most) social/cultural groups within the wider society. In such cases social norms are very likely to acquire a formal or semi-formal status-the status of official rules or laws. This is an area where serious legal and political controversies between different groups in culturally and normatively complex societies often arise.

Related to the relativity of deviance to culture, is its relativity to time. As the cultural norms of social groups/societies change from time to time, so do the

definitions of deviance. An act that is considered deviant today may be normal tomorrow, and the other way round. Many people still remember that at certain times in Great Britain, it was considered deviant for women to smoke cigarettes or/and consume alcohol in public. The relativity of deviance to time, moreover, point to its situational aspect as well. That is people's definitions of deviance change depending on particular social situations. For example, nakedness or half-nakedness of participants in certain "beach parties" is considered normal on an ad hoc basis- "moral holidays"!

Finally the suggested definition of deviance clearly and explicitly includes both "primary" and "secondary" forms of deviance. The social context and the process of labelling behaviour as deviant is an important element of any definition of deviance. And yet, it will be wrong to contend that an undetected and/or unsanctioned breach of norms/rules is not deviance. Any account of deviance must also pay attention to rule-breaking that is not labelled/sanctioned.

Hence, the definition suggested above is claimed to be a more "balanced" and comprehensive definition of deviance on a theoretical level. However, it can not resolve the more fundamental contextual problems of deviance on an empirical level. But it is important to say that the suggested definition provides a useful theoretical background to the empirical description of deviance within the socio-normative context of the present study.

The Social Context Of Deviance In The Pilrig Sample

In his classic work, *The Behaviour of Law*, Donald Black says that:

"It [social control] defines and responds to deviant behaviour, specifying what ought to be done; what is right or wrong, what is violation, obligation, abnormality or disruption" (Black 1976: 105)

Indeed, in the present study of social control and deviance in Edinburgh's Pakistani community, it is the social institutions (or agencies of social control) of the community that constitutes its normative order. The family, the *Biraderi* (network of kinship/friendship relationship), the Mosque and the formal organisation of the community (P.A.E.E.S) define the conduct norms and standards of behaviour. These

agencies of social control also specify what is deviation and how it should be responded to and dealt with.

Drawing on the work of Gibbs (1965,1981) about the definitional attributes of norms, it is the above-mentioned agencies of social control of Edinburgh's Pakistani community that collectively evaluate, and respond to behaviour; and create collective expectations about how people are likely to behave. The family, the *biraderi*, the Mosque and the formal organisation of the community specify and evaluate that members of the community ought or ought not to behave in certain ways; they specify what are the "appropriate" responses- positive or negative-to various types of behaviour; and finally, it is these agencies of social control that make predictions about how members are expected to behave in different social situations.

However, it must be said that the empirical investigation of the definitional attributes-indicators-of norms has been one of the most complex issues in the present study. First of all, the extent of the popular acceptance of what is ought to or ought not to be the extent of the severity and enforcement of sanctions, and finding out how far members of the community really behaved as they are expected to, needed a down-to-earth investigation (including taking part in non-malicious gossip!)

Secondly, all social norms did not apply to all age groups in the same way-individuals belonging to different age groups had different degrees of obligations (or not at all) to obey some of the community's norms. For example smoking cigarettes for boys who were under about 15 years of age was strongly disapproved, whereas the same behaviour was, somewhat, tolerated for boys who were older.

Thus in the context of the present study of the Pilrig sample, only those conduct norms were selected as criteria for deviance and conformity that were uncontroversially accepted in the community as most fundamental to the moral and social behaviour of the youngsters. All the three definitional attributes of norms- collective evaluation, collective sanction, and collective expectation-consistently materialised in these norms.

These fundamental conduct norms covered two major spheres of the moral and social behaviour of the Pilrig boys: First, behaviour in the Mosque-school and in the Mosque, itself; and second, general moral and social behaviour in the community and the society at large.

A: The most fundamental norms that applied to the behaviour of the Pilgrig boys in the Mosque-school were:

1. Maintaining an orderly atmosphere in the mosque-school and a full concentration on their daily *Sabaq*, (or of the previous day). Talking with one another, playing games, making excessive noise or other forms of disruptive behaviour by students in the *sabaq*-class were against the basic norms of the Mosque-school. Those boys who got involved in such behaviour were disciplined. Disciplining in the Mosque-school included physical and other forms of punishment that were administered by *Hafiz Sahib* (see part i, Chapter iii for details).

2. Complete obedience to the authority of *Hafiz Sahib* in the Mosque-school. Any opposition/challenge to disciplining/punishing by *Hafiz Sahib* was considered a most serious breach of the norms of the Mosque-school. Such behaviour is considered a serious misconduct because *Hafiz Sahib* is much more than a teacher - he is a spiritual figure who is highly respected in the community.

3. As most classes in the Mosque-school coincide with at least one collective prayer of a day, all the boys in the class who were around 9 years of age and above were required to join the prayer. As in all Islamic congregational prayers, the worshippers must silently follow and listen to *Hafiz Sahib* who leads the congregational prayer. Laughter and other forms of disruptive behaviour by some boys during the prayer was considered as a breach of the sanctity of the prayer and of the norms of the Mosque. Boys who were involved in disruptive behaviour during prayer (mainly in the back rows while every one was facing the *Makka*) were disciplined/punished (see part II, Chapter III for details).

B. As far as the norms of general moral and social behaviour in the community and in the wider society are concerned, they are mainly a reflection of this particular community's morality-a morality that is produced by the community's agencies of social control, especially by the family and the Mosque. (see Chapters II and III). Unlike the norms of the Mosque-school, the norms of general moral and social behaviour were proscriptions rather than prescriptions (prohibitions rather than ordinances). The most fundamental norms of general moral and social behaviour among young men in the Edinburgh's Pakistani population are:

1. Prohibition of drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes and the use of dangerous and addictive drugs. However, smoking cigarettes for boys who were over the age of 15 was not very strictly prohibited, whereas the same behaviour for younger boys was almost as much strictly prohibited as drinking alcohol for all the boys. (see part I, Chapter III).

2. Prohibition of "going out" with girls or "having girlfriends". (see chapter III, part I for details)

3. Disapproval of going to discos and *Bhangras*. The latter refers to the Indian/Pakistani equivalent of British discos. Occasional attendance of discos and *Bhangras* was, to some extent, tolerated in the community. But since attending discos and *Bhangra* was assumed to be associated with drinking alcohol, and a free mixing with women, it was generally disapproved.

4. Strong condemnation of involvement in inter-group violence, bullying and vandalism outside the Mosque. These kind of activities normally took place between the children of members of two kinship groups or within the same kinship group as a result of economic competition, feud and jealousies. Boys who were involved in such behaviour were reported to *Hafiz Sahib*, either by victims or other boys; and they were disciplined. There was a broad consensus among Edinburgh's Pakistanis about the centrality of the seven norms to the community's moral/social order.

Since all of the above seven norms directly reflected the community's morality, news of breaking these norms travelled very quickly throughout the community. Members of the community gossiped about boys who violated these norms; they were disciplined by parents or by *Hafiz Sahib* (though *Hafiz Sahib* mainly disciplined boys who broke the norms of the mosque-school). Those who repeatedly broke these norms were labelled as "bad boys".

As both teacher and a friend of the Pilrig boys I was in a uniquely suitable position to know about the extent of involvement of these boys in the above-mentioned activities. Not only through gossip in the community and in the Mosque-school, but also most of the boys who frequently broke or rebelled against the above-mentioned norms openly talked to me about their "violations". In some cases I accompanied these boys to discos/*Bhangras* as participant-as-observer (see methodology). The frequency of breaking each of the seven fundamental norms by each of the sixty boys was recorded for a period of one year. Towards the end of the first year of my field work, it was

possible to use the frequency of breaking these norms by each of the sixty boys in discriminating between the conformists and the non-conformist (deviant) boys. Hence, these data resulted in a continuum from the most conforming to the least conforming to the seven norms. An interesting observation in this regard was that those boys who more frequently broke the norms of the Mosque-school and were disciplined also broke most of the moral and social norms of the community more frequently. These boys were also labelled as *shararatis* (trouble-makers) by their conformist classmates and did not have good reputation in the community.

Furthermore, in order to confirm the validity of my rating of the behaviour of the sixty boys, I requested the *Hafiz Sahib* to rate the boys' behaviour. Interestingly, *Hafiz Sahib's* (judgmental) rating was very similar to my own rating that was based on the frequency of breaking the selected seven norms. However, *Hafiz Sahib's* rating discriminated only between those boys who frequently broke the norms of the Mosque-school (who also did not have good reputation in the community) and the rest of the boys. That is to say that *Hafiz Sahib's* rating categorised the sixty boys into two categories of conformists and non-conformists. But the analysis of the sixty boys' records (as part of my field-data) about the frequency of breaking the seven norms resulted in a continuum that split *Hafiz Sahib's* two categories into further two categories of less and more conformists and non-conformists. This continuum that categorises all the sixty boys-from the least deviant to the most deviant-is tabulated as follows:

Table 16A Categorisation of the Pilrig Boys According to the Frequency of Breaking the Norms of Mosque-School

Degree of Deviation		Frequency of Breaking Norms of the Mosque-School		
		Punishable Misbehaviour in the Class	Punishable Misbehaviour During Prayer	Opposing H. Sahib's Authority
Low	1	Once or Twice	Never	Never
	2	Two or Three Times	Never	Never
	3	Two or Three Times	Never or Once	Never or Once
High	4	More than Three Times	Two or Three Times	Two or Three Times

Table 16B Categorisation of the Pilrig Boys According to the Frequency of Breaking the Norms of Community

Degree of Deviation		Frequency of Breaking the General Norms of the Community			
		Attendance of of Disco/ <i>Bhangras</i>	Drinking* Alcohol/Smoking Cigarettes	Going Out with Girls	Involvement in inter-group Violence
Low	1	Never	Never	Never	Never
	2	Once or Twice	Never or Once	Never	Once or Twice
	3	Almost Every Week	Often but not Openly	Often but not Openly	Once or Twice
High	4	Almost Every Week	Often and Openly	Often and Openly	Once or Twice

* Smoking cigarettes was almost as much prohibited for boys about under 15 as alcohol for all ages, but smoking cigarettes for older boys was, to some extent, tolerated.

The total number of boys in the first category was 16 individuals (26.7%) whereas more than half, 32 individuals (53.3%), fell into the second category. There were 7 individuals (11.7%) in the third category, whereas only 5 individuals (8.3%) fell into the last, fourth category.

The above categorisation of the Pilrig boys in terms of less and more deviants was further analysed in the light of ethnographic data (descriptive notes) about each individual. From this combination of the qualitative and quantitative data distinct patterns of behaviour about each of the four categories of the continuum (from the least deviant to the most) emerged. Each of the four categories was named by the dominant theme of its respective pattern of behaviour. This exercise resulted in the development of the four-fold typology of the Pilrig boys: conformists, accommodationists, part-time conformists and rebels. Furthermore, the four categories of the Pilrig boys - from the least deviant to the most - was further examined in the light of self-reported delinquency data about the boys. These data show that the degree of deviance among the Pilrig boys is generally correlated to the frequency of committing delinquent acts (see Appendix I for details).

A Typology Of The Pilrig Boys: (1)

Before going into the details of a behavioural typology of the Pilrig boys that emerged from the field-data, it is important to look back for a moment. In the first part of the thesis it was mentioned that the Edinburgh's Pakistani community is in the process of becoming a small-scale society within the wider Scottish/British society; it has developed its own social institutions and moral and social order. Furthermore it was pointed out that much effort, are made by the community to socialise the young British born Pakistanis to its moral and social values (see chapter II and III).

However, I have also mentioned in the present chapter that the young British-born Pakistanis interact, too, with the wider Scottish/British society whose moral and social values are, in some important ways, different from those the boys are socialised to. At school, in the play-ground, in public places, and through television and the mass-media the British-born Pakistani boys are exposed to the values and morality of the wider society (see pp , in this chapter).

This exposure of the British-born Pakistani youngsters to the moral and social values of two cultures has led most British sociologists/anthropologists to draw the conclusion that these youngsters are "caught between two cultures". For example Watson (1977:3) in his well-known book "Between two Cultures" (A contribution of twelve social anthropologists) reaches the conclusion that the British-born Pakistanis"....are caught between the cultural expectations of their parents (the first generation migrants) and the social demands of the wider society". Similarly, Anwar (1985:59), a prominent sociologist of race relations in Britain says that "the children of Pakistani parents born or brought up in Britain are a generation caught between two cultures". (see also Anwar 1978, 1986). And more recently Professor Ahmed (1992:10) wrote that the British-born Pakistani youngsters are "...nor quite British and no longer Asian". Professor Ahmed further says that these youngsters are referred to by non-resident Pakistanis in Britain as "BBCDs-British Born Confused Desi (native in Urdu)".

Details of the above-mentioned works, explicitly or implicitly state that the British-born Pakistani youngsters are a confused and rootless generation who do not know who they are, and what moral and social world they belong to. Not surprisingly this view about the British-born Pakistanis is followed by the mass-media, by the average British citizen, including the Pakistanis in the UK themselves.

The present study supports the view that the British-born Pakistani boys, indeed, are exposed to the values of two cultures and to the pressures each produces for conformity. However the present study finds the "caught between two cultures" thesis which suggests that the second-generation Pakistani youngsters are confused individuals an over-simplification and, in some ways, a misleading generalisation. This study reveals that individual boys in the Pilrig sample responded to the pressures of the two cultures in different ways, rather than all simply being confused by and caught between them. Every one of the sixty boys in the Pilrig sample has worked out solutions to the pressures and contradictions of the two cultures. Some of these boys chose a full conformity to their Islamic/Pakistani culture, where others rebelled against it and tried to follow a very different social and cultural life-style. There were others who found out a synthesis between the two extremes. The differential responses of the Pilrig boys to the pressures and contradictions of their community's culture and to that of the wider society are described in the following four-fold behavioural typology.

1. Conformists

As the concept of conformity connotes, the conformist boys in Pilrig are full-time followers of the moral and social norms (particularly those relevant to the behaviour of youngsters) of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. In fact the moral and social world of these boys lies within the more inner boundaries of the community-within the boundaries of the family, the *Biraderi* and the mosque. Their vision of life and understanding of "right" and "wrong" are exactly those that are defined, particularly, by their families and the mosque. A group of the conformist boys described their vision of life in this way:

"...you must believe that there is one God, *Allah*. *Allah* is the lord of kindness to mankind and Mohammad (PBUH) is the messenger of *Allah*. You should pray five times a day and you should go to *Jom'a* [Friday congregational prayer]. When you pray you should face the *Ka'aba* [*Makka*] and follow *Hafiz Sahib* silently.

Never disobey your father and mother. Never disobey *Hafiz Sahib* and other elders. You should never ever eat *Haram* meat [pork, ham and meat that is the result of unislamic way of slaughtering of animals] or drink beer and wine. You should never go out with girls. You should not dance or watch dirty films; don't tell lies, or steal or get into a fight. You should not

make friends with *Kafirs* [infidels]. Don't make birthday parties; don't touch dogs".

This vision of life and the definition of "right" and "wrong" is not only a description of the "ideal culture" of the community. For the conformist boys there is no separation between the "ideal" and the "real" culture. As it was demonstrated in tables 16A and 16B that the conformist boys in Pilrig most often obeyed almost all norms of the Mosque school and of the community.

The overwhelming majority of the conformists are among the youngest boys who count for about a fourth (26.66%) of the Pilrig sample. Due to their comparatively younger ages, the conformist boys are, to a greater extent, insulated from the effects of the surrounding culture. Therefore, these boys seemed to recognise only one moral order-the one they refer to as "ours"; the moral and social order of the surrounding society, according to the conformist boys was "theirs", and these boys "had nothing to do with it". The Pilrig conformists had a clear sense of their belonging to the moral and social order of their own community-a small-scale moral and cultural entity.

However, it seems that the older the Pilrig boys grew the more they recognised the existence of the surrounding moral and social order-the one with which they have to deal and accommodate some of its elements. There are very few conformists who grew older but did not follow the "accommodationist" trend. Some of the few conformists who grew older but did not respond to some of the demands of the wider social environment felt alienated even among their own friends. They tend to favour religious and political extremism.

I will return to the relationship between age and the four behavioural types later. First, it is important to describe the next type of the Pilrig boys-the accommodationists.

2. Accommodationists

Similar to their conformist friends the second type of the Pilrig boys have a clear sense of their belonging to the moral and social order of their community that they see as different from that of the surrounding society. These boys positively identify themselves with their distinct culture. Nevertheless, for the accommodationists the boundaries between the moral/social order of their own community and that of the

wider society are not as rigidly and sharply drawn as they are for the conformists. First of all, according to these boys, there are certain common grounds and shared values between the two moral/social orders that should be understood and further explored. The accommodationists particularly refer, in this regard, to the common grounds between Islamic and Christian teachings. But whenever conflict appears between the two accommodation is often a possibility, the boys believe.

For the accommodationist boys adopting certain British values/social manners and making certain situational compromises with the culture of the wider society are not only an acceptable price to pay for successful interaction with the wider society, but these are necessary requirements for living in a modern culturally complex society:

"...This is not Pakistan. We live in Britain. Actually we are British Pakistanis; we live with British people. We ought to change some of our manners and behaviour so that we don't look odd or stupid. We ought to wear ties on some occasions and bow-ties on other occasions. I don't drink alcohol but I do join my Scottish friends-girls and boys-in parties. I sometimes dance with them. I don't think these things are wrong; our religion is not as strict as some people think."

A 19 year old boy in Pilrig said. The boy further added that "please don't take me wrong I don't mean that we should compromise on everything; no compromise on principles!". The above passage clearly indicates that the accommodationist boy points to the desirability and even the necessity of a degree of deviation from the "ideal culture" of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. He knew that attendance of discos, dancing and mixing with unrelated women are taboos according to the "ideal culture" of the community. In fact the accommodationist boys practically deviated from some of the norms of the Mosque-school and the community, on some occasions. This is clearly demonstrated in tables 16A and 16B where the accommodationists, occasionally, broke some of the norms of the Mosque-school and the community. But, with some surprise, this extent of deviation is tolerated in the community. The accommodationists boys are seen as the "good boys" in the community/Mosque. The majority (53.33%) of the Pilrig boys fall into this category.

It should be mentioned that while most of the accommodationist boys in Pilrig are not ready to "compromise on principles", some of them go a little beyond this: These comparatively older boys favour broader interpretations of some Islamic principles and seek modification of some of the established cultural values. For example they do not follow the restriction that meat must always be prepared by the Islamic way of

slaughtering (*Halal*); and they believe that they will try to know their future wife and to have more say in the arrangement of their marriages.

In sum, the accommodationists, generally, adopt certain British values, and modify their behaviour and attitudes to fit the social demands of the wider society. But these boys do remain loyal to the fundamental religious and cultural values of their community.

3. Part-Time Conformists

While the accommodationists, generally, justify their deviation from the minor moral and social norms (or fundamental but controversial norms) of their community, the part-time conformists violate many of its fundamental moral and social norms. As tables 16A and 16B show this category of the Pilrig boys frequently violated most norms of the mosque-school and of the community. These boys knew that violation of some of the community's norms such as drinking alcohol and relationships with women outside marriage are taken very seriously by the agencies of social control of the community. But, most of the part-time conformists justified their violations as a group of them put it "...but most boys in the community do these things; they have girlfriends and drink [alcoholic drinks] secretly". But, in fact only a minority of the Pilrig boys violated these fundamental norms of the community. For some other of the part-time conformists most of the moral and social values of Edinburgh's Pakistani community were irrelevant in Britain as one of these boys told me "...Do in Rome what Romans do".

Despite their wide-scale deviation from the community's moral/social norms, the part-time conformists tried to cover up their deviations from the community. These boys maintained their links with the community through attending *Jom'a* and *Eid* prayers and other cultural/religious gatherings to show that they were respectable members of the community. These deviant boys' part-timeness in conformity resembles the part-timeness in crime of Ditton's (1977) "part-time criminals". The latter were persons who were indulged in regular "fiddling" (embezzlement, fare-dodging etc.) while pretending to be honest individuals. However, Ditton's "fiddlers" had partial roles in crime whereas the Pilrig part-time conformists had partial role in conformity.

In fact through their part-timeness in conformity many of the Pilrig boys managed to deceive and therefore prevented, to a considerable extent, the community's

agencies of social control to define them as deviants. But, because of the suspicious attitudes of the community's conventional members towards these boys, they saw themselves as potential targets of the label "bad boys". These boys admitted that they behaved in this way to avoid damaging their family's *Izzet* and bringing bad name to it. And this, in turn, will have serious consequences for the boys themselves. Most of the part-time conformists, in Pilrig, tried to "Hove their cake and eat it"!

Despite their deviation from the fundamental moral/social values of their community, many of the Pilrig's part-time conformists still have a relatively strong sense of their ethnicity and cultural identity. Many of them identified themselves with their Pakistani/Islamic cultural roots. But, they placed stronger emphasis on the secular aspects of their distinct ethnicity rather than on its religious aspects. It may be appropriate to call these boys "Cultural Muslims".

It must also be mentioned that a few boys among the Pilrig's part-time conformists did not have a clear sense of their cultural identity and belonging. Confused and disillusioned, this latter group may be described as boys who are "caught between two cultures". The part-time conformists constituted only a little more than a tenth (11.66%) of all the boys in the Pilrig sample.

4. Rebels

The last category in the continuum-from the least to the most deviant-of the Pilrig boys are rebels. The young Pilrig rebels not only openly violated many moral/social norms of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, but they also challenged them. Tables 16A and 16B clearly indicated that rebels among the Pilrig boys more frequently violated norms of the Mosque-school: They more frequently "misbehaved" in the class, during prayer(s) and opposed *Hafiz Sahib's* authority, as compared to the rest of Pilrig boys. Similarly, the rebels violated the moral/social norms of the community (outside the Mosque-school) more frequently as compared to the conformists and accommodationists among the Pilrig boys. Though the rebels violated the community's moral/social norms (attending discos/night-clubs, drinking alcohol, and going out with girls/having girlfriend) almost as frequently as part-time conformists, the former violated these norms openly while the latter did so in relative secrecy.

For the rebels in Pilrig the existing moral/social arrangements in the community are "...an old story"-a story of the first-generation Pakistani migrants and a story of

Pakistan. Many of the community's moral/social norms, particularly, restrictions on foods, drinks, and on matters related to individuals' private life are not acceptable to these boys. They seriously challenge the relevance of these norms. Some boys among this category of the Pilrig sample resemble Merton's (1964) rebels-"rebels with cause". They seek to substitute much of what they call the "old fashioned and "backward" moral/social arrangements in the community by new alternatives. But the majority of the Pilrig rebels rebel against these moral/social arrangements just because they "....want to have fun; to enjoy life...", as three of the rebels put it. The boys further added that " All the stupid restrictions just don't make sense to us; we are just not bothered about them; we don't give a damn about what people say". Unlike the first group ("rebel with cause") - the second group of the Pilrig rebels have a confused sense of their cultural identity; they do not know where they actually belong.

The Pilrig rebels' deviations from the community's norms have been strongly reacted to by its agencies of social control. The Pilrig rebels have earned a reputation of "bad boys" in the community. Many parents advise their sons to avoid the company of "bad boys". Due to social pressures within the family and the kinship group, some of the rebels had left their parents' houses and live alone. They are, in many ways cut-off from the community-they are a kind of "social outcasts". However the majority of the Pilrig rebels live with their families. Their parents tolerate their rebellious sons' behaviour and the community's criticism about them. Parents of these boys say that they have no alternative but to "....hope that they will return to the right way after they grow older and get married". Parents of two of the Pilrig rebels said. These young Pakistani rebels formed only a minority (8.33%) of the total sample of the sixty Pilrig boys.

It is important to mention that rebels among the Pilrig boys had important role in stimulating social/cultural change in the community. This may be very briefly described in the following more recent cases of the marriage of two Pilrig rebels. The importance of these two cases is that the two young rebels rebelled against and broke the convention of "arranged marriage" in the community. Despite enormous pressures from their parents, kin and the community one of the boys flatly rejected his arranged marriage and later got married to a girl of his choice. Similarly, the second rebel extra-ordinarily insisted on marrying a girl that he knew. Despite strong opposition from his parents the boy finally succeeded in marrying the girl who he had known for long time.

These two cases have shaken the community and are still a major topic of gossip and discussions in the community. After these and some other similar events many parents of marriageable sons and daughters told me that they will have to reconsider the institution of "arranged marriage". If many other girls and boys within the community persistently deviate from some of its norms it may be predicted that the community is undergoing a gradual cultural/social change-the rebels are definitely the pioneers!

Having put forward this description of the four-fold typology of the Pilrig boys-from the least to the most deviant - it is now important to look at the relationship between age and deviance.

Age And Deviance

Age is one of the most important sociological variables in the explanation of crime and delinquency. Criminological research have consistently shown that crime and delinquency reach their peak at certain points in teenage years (see McClintock and Avison 1968; Greenburg 1979; Hirschi and Gottfredson 1983; Wilson and Hernstein 1985; Farrington 1986; Anderson et al 1990; Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990). The relationships between age and deviance in the sample of sixty Pakistani boys in the Pilrig mosque/community centre are examined as follows:

Table 17 Relationship between Age and the Four Behavioural Types (Typology) in the Pilrig Sample

Typology	Age				All
	1 0 - 1 2	1 3 - 1 5	1 6 - 1 8	1 9 - 2 1	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	68.75 (11)	6.25 (1)	- (0)	25.00 (4)	26.66 (16)
Accommodationists	40.62 (13)	21.87 (7)	03.12 (1)	34.37 (11)	53.33 (32)
P.T. Conformists	14.28 (1)	28.57 (2)	57.14 (4)	- (0)	11.66 (7)
Rebels	- (0)	20.00 (1)	- (0)	80.00 (4)	08.33 (5)
Column Total	41.66 (25)	18.33 (11)	8.33 (5)	31.66 (19)	100.00 (60)
Tau b= 0.21 Sig. 0.03					

The above table reveals that the youngest of the Pilrig boys was 10 and the oldest was 21 years by the time the questionnaire of the present study was completed. The table further reveals that over two fifths (41.66%) of the boys in the sample were 10 to 12 years old; almost a fifth (18.33%) of the boys were 13 to 15 years old; only a small minority (8.33%) of these boys were 16 to 18 years old whereas almost a third (31.66%) of them were 19 to 21 years old.

Table 17 above further reveals that a large majority (68.75%) of the conformist boys in the sample were aged 10 to 12 years, whereas only one fourth of them were in the 19 to 21 age group; a small minority (6.25%) of the conformists were aged between 13 to 15 years. Similarly, more than two fifths (40.62%) of the accommodationist boys were aged 10 to 12 years and more than a fifth (21.87%) of them were between 13 to 15 years old. A small minority (3.12%) of the boys in this category were aged 16 to 18 years whereas about a third (34.37%) of them fell into the 19 to 21 age-group.

These data show that the majority of each of the conformist and accommodationist boys (non-deviant categories) are younger persons: Three-fourths of the conformists and about two-thirds (62.49%) of the accommodationists are in age groups 10 to 12 and 13 to 15 years. But this pattern is almost the other way round in the age-distribution among the part-time conformists and the rebels (deviant categories): only 14.28 percent of the part-time conformists are aged 10 to 12 years old, and 28.57 percent of them are in the 13 to 15 years age group. But the majority (57.14%) of these boys fall into the 16 to 18 age-group. Similarly, only one fifth of the rebels were 13 to 15 years old, whereas four fifths of them fell into the 19 to 21 age-group. These data indicate that the older the boys in Pilrig sample the more deviant they are. This is confirmed by Kendall's Tau b showing moderately strong positive correlation (0.21) between age and the degree of deviance among the Pilrig boys.

The age distribution of the Pilrig boys clearly indicate that the majority of these boys deviated from and openly rebelled against their community's norms after their 16th birthdays. These results are very similar to the findings of important British, Scandinavian, and American studies. For example Farrington (1992) found that the median age of conviction for most offences (shoplifting, robbery, burglary and theft from vehicles) showed that the prevalence of offending in this study reached to a peak

at 15-17 years of age. The ANYS's findings are identical to those of the Stockholm Project Metropolitan which found that peak age of offending in the Stockholm study was 15-17 (see Wikström 1990).

It is worth mentioning that the fact that the oldest boys in the Pilrig sample were 21 years old "deviants" does not imply that deviation from the community's norms stops at this age. In fact some of the ethnographic data of the present study indicates that rebellious youngsters in Edinburgh's Pakistani community continue to remain involved in "deviant" activities until their mid to late twenties. Stories of the adolescent life of some respectable members of the community-now in their mid thirties-very much resemble those of the part-time conformists and rebels in the Pilrig sample. These ex-deviants/rebels told me while laughing that "...we retired after getting married and starting our own business". However these ex-rebels say that they did not rebel against some of the most well established values/norms of the community including arranged marriage. But the Pilrig rebels did!

The data at hand showing moderately strong relationship between age and deviance among the Pilrig boys, in fact, explains the very degrees of social control to which these boys are subject in the course of their adolescent and adult life. The British-born Pakistani boys in the Pilrig sample lived in a relatively insulated and protected social and cultural world of the family and the community until they reach the age of 15 or 16, or the age of *Bolugh* (puberty). Because until this age, they depended, to a greater extent, on the social and emotional support of their parents and kin, and therefore were more socially controlled, fewer of them involved in deviant behaviour. But, since these boys became relatively free from the family and the community's social control after the age of around 15 or 16 (the age of *Bolugh*), a larger number of them deviated from the norms of their community. In the same vein the fact that most non-conformist Pakistani boys returned to conventional life style after they got married and started business explains again the extent of social control to which they are subject in their mid/late twenties. Marriage and business socially bond these youngsters to the community's social institutions and to its moral and social order, hence they become more socially controlled.

What has been so far discussed in this chapter aimed at providing a general introductory background to the empirical examination of deviance among the Pilrig boys. In the following pages the discussion will focus on the explanation of deviance among the Pilrig boys within the theoretical framework of Travis Hirschi's version of social control theory.

Notes

(1) It is worth saying that the proposed typology of the Pilrig boys is not necessarily generalisable to all second generation young Pakistanis in Britain. But such a possibility may exist. This is because almost all second generation young Pakistanis are exposed to pressures and contradictions between the two cultural/social worlds in which they live. The second generation youngsters are very likely to seek various possibilities to find solutions to these pressures and contradictions. The proposed typology has explored such possibilities.

Moreover, due to the relatively small size of the Pilrig sample (60 boys) it is not claimed that the proposed typology is complete. In fact there were some clues in the present data that pointed to the possibility of splitting the four types to a further two categories each. For example among the conformists there were those younger boys who were mainly exposed to the values of their families/community and therefore devoutly conformed to them. But, there were also a few "older conformists" who failed to accommodate and adopt certain values of the wider society. This latter category of older conformist tended to favour extreme versions of Islam.

Similarly, among the accommodationists there were those who compromised on minor religious and social norms/values, and not on fundamental principles. But, some accommodationists interpreted even fundamental religious/social values in a broad way. Finally the rebels could be divided into "rebels with cause" (organised groups with alternative social agendas) and to "rebels without cause" (who just rebel against the existing norms just for the sake of rebellion). Further expansion and development of the proposed typology is a task to be left for other researchers.

CHAPTER FIVE

ATTACHMENT

Introduction

In this chapter, the first and the most important element of Hirschi's social control theory -attachment - is empirically examined. After a brief theoretical exploration of the concept, attachment is defined as an individual's (mainly of a child/adolescent's) affectionate involvement in others ("Significant others") and, hence, becoming sensitive to their views, wishes, and expectations. Attachment to parents, the most important of attachments from the social control theorists' point of view is examined first in this chapter. To operationalise attachment to parents, in the context of the present study, "Intimacy of communication with parents", "Giving importance to parents' Nasihat [advice], and "affection to parents" were considered as indicators of the concept. Results of this empirical investigation are mainly quantitatively analysed.

Attachment to parents often leads to the psychological presence of parents in the child's mind, even when they are absent. This aspect of attachment that is referred to as "Indirect control" (Nye 1958) is discussed under the sub-heading of "Parental supervision". That is parental supervision, in this sense, is the extent of the child's perception of parents' knowledge about his/her whereabouts; not actual supervision and surveillance. Within this theoretical context the relationship between the Pilrig boys' perception of their "parents' knowledge about their whereabouts" and about their "company" (when they were away from home) and deviance were empirically examined. Parental supervision was categorised into three forms: "neglectful", "moderate" and "too strict". Moreover, this discussion was further supplemented by examining the relationship between "parental discipline and deviance/delinquency. Parental discipline in this context is defined as the use of certain measures of direct control by parents after the child did something that was "wrong" in their view. Within this context the relationships between "Neglectful", "Moderate" and "Too strict" forms of parental discipline were empirically investigated.

After attachment to parents, attachment to the school and the teacher(s) is strongly emphasised in control theory. In order to examine the relationship between attachment to the school and deviance in the Pilrig sample, "liking the school", "caring about teacher(s)' opinions, and the extent of the "attendance of school" were considered as indicators of the independent variable. The analysis and interpretation of the findings are mainly based on the quantitative data.

Subsequently, the relationship between attachment to friends and deviance is examined. To operationalise attachment to friends, in the context of the Pilrig sample, "importance to friends", "respect for best friends opinions", and "identification with best friends" were considered as indicators of this form of attachment. Because friendship among Edinburgh's Pakistanis often took place within the context of kinship, the quantitative results of the findings were analysed in the light of qualitative data. Finally the question of whether attachment to delinquent friends has any relationship with deviance is examined. The relationship between the numbers of "friends picked up by the police" and "suspended from the school" and deviance in the Pilrig sample are empirically investigated. The quantitative findings are analysed in the light of ethnographic data.

Attachment

From childhood we normally develop our initial affective relations with persons who are available in our immediate social environment. Normally we are born to parents whose emotional, material and social support is vital to us during our childhood and adolescence. After our parents we usually interact more intimately and frequently with our other family members i.e. brothers and sisters and with our close kin as well. At school, in our neighbourhood locality and in the playground we often make close friends. We meet many other people too. But we do not feel emotionally close to everybody. We develop affectionate relationships and we feel emotionally close only to some individuals. They are individuals whose existence has meaning in our lives; we relate to and identify with them; we share our thoughts and feelings with them; and therefore they become "significant others" to us. In the context of Hirschi's social control theory (1969) attachment refers to this kind of affectionate involvement of human individuals in "significant others", and therefore becoming sensitive to their feelings, wishes and expectations and to their ideas and opinions.

The relevance of attachment to delinquency and crime is that in fantasy deviance is a possibility to us all. But what makes us choose not to follow that path is our affective human relationships that have more worth to us (emotional, physical or material) than the joy, thrill and/or benefit that we may get from deviance. So, whenever we think about deviation or going against the opinions and expectations of others, we think twice - we think twice not because the "significant others" may physically force us to conform or punish us for our deviance; but because we feel so close to them (or closely identified with them) that even in their absence, they are profoundly present in our consciousness: we find it very difficult to betray those feelings; we do not want them to be hurt or embarrassed when they see us going against their expectations and opinions should they come to know about our acts. Described in this way, attachment is a flexible variable; the degree of its intensity varies across individuals with the fluctuating human affectionate involvement in one another. Theoretically the least attached (and the totally detached) individuals are more likely to deviate - they are individuals who are unaffected by the constraint of attachment; and therefore they are relatively free to deviate.

In exploring the relationship between attachment and crime/delinquency, modern theorists and researchers mainly focus on three sources of attachment: parents, school and friends. The most important of all these sources are parents.

Attachment To Parents

"...the emotional bond between the parent and the child presumably provides the bridge across which pass parental ideals and expectations. If the child is alienated from the parent, he will not learn or will have no feeling for moral rules..." (Hirschi 1969:86)

Parents are normally conventional figures who have the responsibility of socialising their children to society's conventional morality and values. In most cultures parents teach their children the "wrongs" and "rights" of the society and pro-conformity behaviours. Even parents who themselves are involved in deviant/criminal behaviour are very unlikely to intend or desire that their children become criminal and anti-social individuals (see Box 1981:126). Because parents are normally conventional figures, they naturally expect their children to conform to society's moral norms and rules. Though the degree of the internalisation of society's moral rules may vary from individual to individual, most children, know how parents and society's other conventional figures expect them to behave.

Parents may persuade, manipulate, or even physically force their children to live up to theirs and to societal expectations. But, this is not what the control theorist means by "attachment to parents". As mentioned earlier, the control theorist's emphasis, in this regard, is on the emotional bond between the child and his/her parent and to the extent to which he/she cares and is sensitive to their expectations and conventional opinions. Thus, the control theorist hypothesises that those young people who are strongly attached to their parents are more likely to be more bound to their opinions, and therefore they are less likely to violate society's conventional rules and norms. Those young people who are weakly attached to their parents or whose attachment have been destroyed or have not been made at all are free to violate society's rules and norms.

In the subsequent research literature and in those prior to Hirschi's Social Control Theory, the concept of attachment has not been operationalised in a standard way. That is to say, that the "items" that have been used for "measuring" attachment, to some extent, vary from one study to another (either in content, form or both) reflecting different dimensions of attachment, and depending on its different contexts. Various indicators, including "affection and love", "interest and concern", "support and help", "trust", "encouragement", "lack of rejection", "desire for physical

closeness", "amount of interaction or positive communication and identification", have been identified as bases for measuring the concept. By and large all these various measures have been negatively correlated to delinquency. The empirical evidence showing negative correlation between attachment to parents and delinquency is massive and well documented (see Glueck and Glueck 1950; Nye 1958; McCord et al; Hirschi 1969; Farrington 1973; Hirschi and Hindelang 1977; Hagan 1979; Box 1981; Wiatrowski et al 1981; West 1982; Elliott et al 1985; Patterson and Dishion 1985; and Cernkovich and Giordano 1987).

In the present research, however, much attention was paid to the operationalisation of attachment to parents within the cultural and social context of the Pakistani family in Edinburgh. As was mentioned in Chapter two, the Pakistani family in Edinburgh is, in general, a very close-knit social unit where children are usually emotionally and socially dependent on their parents. Parents are normally the first people with whom these children share their intimate thoughts and feelings. Thus "intimacy of communication" was selected as the first indicator of attachment to parents.

In the same vein, for the Pakistani children in Edinburgh, their parents were the first people to whom they turn for *Nasihah* (advice). It was generally accepted among the 60 boys in Pilrig, Edinburgh, that their parents "know best". Thus, parents' *Nasihah* as an important feature of parent-children interaction and a central element in the socialisation of Pakistani children in Edinburgh was considered as the second indicator of attachment to parents.

Finally, since most young Pakistanis in Pilrig felt "excluded" from the wider society (see Chapter IV) they tended to strongly relate to and positively identify with men in their own "closed" community- a community that is in the process of becoming a small-scale society within the wider society (see Chapter I). Fathers were the most immediate "role-models" for the Pilrig Boys to identify with. Thus "positive identification" with father and the "feeling of closeness" to mother (the latter are "role-models" for daughters in the Pakistani male-dominated culture) were selected as last indicators of attachment to parents.

Intimacy Of Communication With Parents

To measure intimacy of communication between the Pilrig boys and their mothers/fathers, they were asked: "*How often do you share your thoughts and feelings with your mother?*" (using the same item for each parent separately).

Answer categories "always" and "often" (scored 3 and 2) accounted for much intimacy of communication, whereas "sometimes" and "hardly ever" (scored 1 and 0) measured little intimacy of communication¹.

Table 18 Relationship Between Intimacy of Communication with Mother and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Intimacy of Communication with Mother		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	31.25 (5)	68.75 (1 1)	100.00 (1 6)
Accommodationists	50.00 (1 6)	50.00 (1 6)	100.00 (3 2)
P.T. Conformists	100.00 (7)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	55.00 (3 3)	45.00 (2 7)	100.00 (6 0)
Tau b = -0.41 Sig. 0.000			

Table 18 shows that the majority (68.75%) of the conformist boys have much intimate communication with their mothers, whereas a significant minority (31.25%) of them have little intimate communication with their mothers. Among the accommodationists, exactly half of them have much intimate communication with their mothers and the other half have little communication with their mothers. For these two non-deviant categories of the boys the figures by themselves may not seem very striking. That is to say that higher percentages of the non-deviant categories of the Pilrig boys were expected to have had much intimate communication with their mothers than the table shows. However the figures become much more striking when compared with the two deviant categories of the boys: none of the part-time conformists and rebels have much intimate communication with their mothers. It is this discriminatory power of the attachment variable (or intimacy of communication, as an indicator of attachment) between deviants and non-deviants which the control theorist emphasises. Furthermore, the statistical test of

¹This scoring system was used for all the questions that relate to "attachment to parents", "attachment to the school" and "attachment to peers".

correlation coefficient shows very strong inverse correlation (-0.41) between the amount of intimacy of communication with mother and the level of deviance. That is to say that the less the intimacy of communication between the Pilrig boys and their mothers the higher their degree of deviation from the normative standards of their community.

As far as the intimacy of communication with father is concerned, Table 19 indicates that:

Table 19 Relationship Between Intimacy of Communication with Father and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Intimacy of Communication with Father		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	43.75 (7)	56.25 (9)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	50.00 (16)	50.00 (16)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	71.43 (5)	28.57 (2)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	55.00 (33)	45.00 (27)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.24 Sig. 0.0219			

fewer conformist boys (56.25%) have much intimate communication with their fathers as compared with the figure for the mother (68.75%). Among the accommodationists the figures for the father are, interestingly, the same as those for mother. However, a significant minority of the part-time conformists (28.57%) have much communication with their fathers, whereas no one of them has much communication with their mothers. As expected none of the rebels has much intimate communication with either of their parents.

The comparison between percentages in the first and third categories of the boys regarding the degree of intimacy of communication with each parent indicates some clear variations. These variations suggest that intimacy of communication with mother discriminates more markedly between deviants and non-deviants than

intimacy of communication with father. The comparatively larger figure for the inverse correlation between intimacy of communication with the mother and the level of deviance (-0.41) than that in the case of the father (-0.24) confirms this: it indicates very strong correlation between the independent and dependent variables in the mother's case whereas this correlation is moderately strong in the case of the father. Nevertheless, the general conclusion regarding intimacy of communication with the father and the mother is consistent with the assumption of control theory: the more the Pilrig boys intimately communicated with their parents, the less they deviated from the norms of the Pakistani community in Edinburgh.

While the above interpretation of Table 18 meets the theoretical expectations, its row-wise picture apparently challenges the common view and research (Henley 1986; Shaw 1988) that "Asian (Pakistani) parents and children have close and warm relationships". According to the tables less than half of all the boys (45%) have much communication with their mothers, and it is exactly the same case with fathers. This issue will be dealt with while examining the direction of communication between parents and children, in the next section. First, it is important to look at the relationship between parents' advice and deviance.

Parents' *Nasihah*, (Advice)

Having analysed the relationships between intimacy of communication and the level of deviance, the question arises as to whether the Pilrig boys' mere sharing of thoughts and feeling with their parents may have been superficial: a ritualistic practice without the actual acceptance of parents' thoughts and ideas. If the communication between the boys and their parents had actually been intimate they are expected to give importance to and listen to their parents' advice. In Islam giving importance to parents advice, *Nasihah*, is a religious duty of children; and among Edinburgh's Pakistanis it is considered a sign of close and "healthy" relationships between children and their parents. Thus taking into account this particular socio-cultural context the Pilrig boys were next asked "*How important is your mother/father's advice to you?*" *would you say that:* (separate answer boxes were used for each parent). Answer categories: "*Very important*" and "*Fairly important*" accounted for Much importance and "*Not very important*" and "*Not important at all*" for Little importance.

Table 20 Relationship between Mother's Advice and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Mother's Advice		Row Total
	Of Little Importance	Of Much Importance	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	6.25 (1)	93.75 (15)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	3.12 (1)	96.87 (31)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	16.67 (10)	83.33 (50)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.48 Sig. 0.000			

The data in Table 20 clearly show that for the overwhelming majorities of each the conformist and the accommodationist categories (non-deviant boys) their mothers advice is of much importance; only for insignificant minorities in each category is their mothers' advice of little importance. This is very much in line with what is theoretically expected. What is of some surprise and unexpected is that for more than half (57.14%) of the part-time conformists (deviant category) their mothers' advice is also of much importance to them. But on the other hand none of the rebels, (the most deviant category) regard their mothers advice of much importance. I will return to the interpretation of this finding shortly. But first, it is important to look at the relationship between the father's advice and deviance, in the Pilrig sample.

Table 21 Relationship Between Father's Advice and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Father's Advice		Row Total
	Of Little Importance	Of Much Importance	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	00.00 (0)	100.00 (32)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	14.29 (1)	87.81 (6)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	60.00 (3)	40.00 (2)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	6.67 (4)	93.33 (56)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.41 Sig. 0.000			

As can be seen in Table 21, for all of the two non-deviant categories of the boys their fathers' advice is of much importance to them. What is interesting is that for an overwhelming majority of the part-time conformists (87.81%) their fathers' advice is also of much importance; and it is a similar situation in the case of their mothers' advice. It can be inferred from this observation that despite deviating from much of the conventional morality of their community, the part-time conformists dare not to challenge parental authority, particularly their fathers' authority. Even if these boys do not feel close to their fathers (see table 23) the father is still an "economic father" and a "social" one. That is to say that the father is the powerful head of the family, of its property and business. By challenging their fathers' authority, the part-time conformists would be endangering their economic future; they will be taking the risk of depriving themselves from the comfort that they enjoy in their "fathers' house" (though often considered as the "family's house"). However, for the majority (60%) of the rebels in the sample their fathers' advice is of little importance to them, where none of them say that their mothers' advice is of much importance. The fact that no one among the rebels give much importance to the mother's advice is probably because the mother is not the economic head of the family (though she may be the social head) and therefore her power to impose economic sanctions on her "rebellious" sons is limited. Nevertheless, both the mother's and the father's advice is very strongly correlated with deviance, with a slightly larger correlation figure for the mother's advice (-0.48) than that for the father's advice

(-0.41). Table 21 further reveals that the overwhelming majority of all the Pilrig boys give much importance to their parents' advice: 83.33% to mothers' advice and 93.33% to fathers' advice.

At this point, it seems appropriate to recall what we noticed in Table 18 and 19 that only a minority of all the Pilrig boys (45%) have much intimate communication (sharing thoughts and feelings) with each parent. Considering parents-children sharing of thoughts and feelings as a major criterion of parent-children "close relationships" the above result apparently conflicts with the common view that: "Asian parents and children have very close and warm relationships". But if the nature and direction of parent-children communication is more carefully examined the apparent conflict disappears: while sharing of thoughts and feelings with parents, and parents' advice are both basically a communication between parents and children, the direction of each is different: in the "intimacy of communication case" (*"How often do you share your thoughts and feelings with your mother/father?"*) the flow of communication is from the child to the parent; the child is the initiator. But in the case of parents' advice" (*"How important is your mother/fathers' advice to you?"*) the flow of communication is from the parent(s) to the child, with an element of authority/respect loaded in the term "advice". Taking into account this distinction, the comparison between Tables 18 and 19 reveals that an overwhelming majority of Pakistani boys still have much communication with their parents (93.33% give much importance to their fathers' advice and 83.33% to their mothers'). However the dominant pattern of parent-children communication is that the boys tend to be more recipients in communicating with their parents rather than active initiators.

Affection To Parents

Up to this point, the general pattern has been that boys who have much intimacy of communication with their parents also give much importance to their advice. Now the question is to what extent do the Pilrig boys affectionately relate and feel close to their parents? Thus, all the sixty boys were asked *"How close do you feel to your mother?"*, which was used as a third and last measure of attachment to the mother. Answer categories *"very close"* and *"fairly close"* accounted for much feeling of closeness, whereas *"not very close"* and *"I do not feel close to my mother, at all"* for little feeling of closeness to the mother.

Table 22 Relationship between Feeling of Closeness to Mother and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Feeling of Closeness to Mother		Row Total
	Less Close	Very Close	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	6.25 (1)	93.75 (15)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	3.12 (1)	96.87 (31)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	80.00 (4)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	15.00 (9)	85.00 (51)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.43 Sig. 0.000			

The findings in table 22 show that exactly the same numbers of each of conformist (93.75%), the accommodationists (96.87%) and the part-time conformist (57.14%) categories of the boys for whom their mothers' advice was of much importance, also have much feeling of closeness to their mothers. Among the rebels for none of whom their mothers' advice was of much importance, only a minority (20%) have much feeling of closeness to their mothers. These findings show that the relationship between affection for mother and the level of deviance, generally, follows the same pattern as that of the relationships between "intimacy of communication", with and "importance of the mother's advice" and the level of deviance. That is, the less the Pilrig boys have feelings of closeness to their mothers the greater is their deviation from the conventional morality of their community. Furthermore, feeling of closeness to mother is very strongly correlated to the level of deviance (-0.43). Table 22 also reveals that a large majority (85%) of all the Pilrig boys have much feelings of closeness to their mothers. This is a confirmation of the ethnographic findings of this study according to which most of the Pilrig boys were emotionally and socially dependent on their parents, particularly on their mothers.

It should be mentioned that because of the male-dominated culture of the community under study, boys are encouraged to follow their fathers as "role-model" whereas

girls are encouraged to follow their mothers as their "role-models". Thus "positive identification with father" rather than "feeling of closeness" was selected as the third indicator of the Pilrig boys' attachment to their fathers. All the boys in the Pilrig sample were asked a separate question: *"How much would you like to be the kind of person your father is? would you say:"*. Answer categories *"in every way"* and *"in most ways"* accounted for much positive identification with the father, whereas *"in some ways"* and *"not at all"* little positive identification with the father.

Table 23 Relationship Between Positive Identification with Father and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Positive Identification with Father		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	50.00 (8)	50.00 (8)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	21.87 (7)	78.12 (25)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	42.86 (3)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	40.00 (24)	60.00 (36)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.12 Sig. -0.153			

Unlike the empirical data that have been analysed so far with regard to the attachment variable, the findings of Table 108 are, to some extent, unexpected and problematic: only half of the conformist boys express much positive identification with their fathers. It becomes more puzzling to note that more than two fifths (42.86%) of the part-time conformists (a deviant category) also express much identification with their fathers. Despite the facts that more than three fourths (78.12%) among the accommodationists (non-deviants) express much positive identification with their fathers; and despite the fact that none among the rebels do so, the question remains as to why only half of the conformists among the Pilrig boys express much positive identification with their fathers?

One possible interpretation of these data may be that the conformist boys are generally among the youngest (10-12 year olds) of the Pilrig boys (see Table 17). Unlike their older class fellows who help their fathers in their work-place, the young conformists spend most of their time at home with their mothers. Because these younger boys have little chance to interact with their fathers, they may not see them as "role-models" at all (see Chapter II where some mothers complained that their husbands have little time for their children). Thus, fewer conformist boys, in the Pilrig sample, positively identify themselves with their fathers.

At any rate, the findings of Table 23 fail to support the control theory strongly; the small correlation coefficient figure (-0.12) indicates that "Positive identification with father" is weakly correlated with the level of deviance. At this point, it should be recalled that "feeling of closeness" was strongly correlated with Deviance. This situation raises the question: is affection to one parent sufficient in controlling Deviance/Delinquency? Control theory does not have a straight forward answer to this question. Hirschi gives a "may be" support to the idea that attachment to one parent is sufficient in controlling delinquency: "It may be, for example, that the boy strongly attached to his mother is unlikely to be delinquent regardless of his feelings toward his father; it may be that strong attachment to both parents adds little in the way of control" (Hirschi 1969:103; see also Hirschi 1983:62; and Gottfredson and Hirschi 1990:103). If this argument can be accepted, then one-parent-family may be as efficient in controlling delinquency/deviance as two-parent family.

On the same token, then the strong inverse correlation between "feeling of closeness to mother" and the dependent variable, in the present study "May be" sufficient to support control theory, without having strong correlation between "Positive identification with father" and the dependent variable.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the majority (60%) of all the boys express much "Positive identification" with their father.

To sum up, consistent with social control theory and with much of the existing body of research, the present data show that the less the Pilrig boys share their thoughts and feelings with their parents, the less they give importance to their parents' advice, and the less affectionate feelings they have toward their mother, the more they deviate from the normative order of their community (positive identification with father did not have a strong relationship with deviance).

After analysing the relationships between attachment to parents and Deviance, now it is important to look at the relationship between certain direct and indirect supervision/disciplinary measures by parents and the level of deviance among the Pilrig boys.

Parental Supervision And Discipline

The importance of parental supervision in controlling delinquency has long been recognised by theorists and researchers of delinquency. But the emphasis of researchers on different aspects of parental supervision have led to contradictory findings and to unresolved controversy over the topic that are discussed as follows:

For social control theorists parental supervision, in terms of restrictive monitoring, punishment and the use of other disciplinary techniques (direct control) has little impact on controlling delinquency. For example Nye (1958:7) argued that these techniques can be effective so far the child is "within the physical limits of the house". Following this line of reasoning Hirschi stated that:

"So called "direct control" is not, except a limiting case of much substantive or theoretical importance. The important consideration is whether the parent is psychologically present when temptation to commit a crime arises". (Hirschi 1969:88)

Receiving empirical support, in his study, for the argument Hirschi reached the conclusion:

"...that the child is less likely to commit delinquent acts not because his parents actually restrict his activities, but because he shares his activities with them; not because his parents actually know where he is, but because he perceives them as aware of his location ". (Hirschi 1969:89-90)

What is crucial in this view is the child's perception that his parents have a full knowledge of his whereabouts and his company. Thus, because of "sharing" his social and psychological life with his parents, the child is most likely to avoid going to places, accompanying persons and doing things that he knows his parents disapprove of. This psychological presence of the parents in the child's mind seems to be an outcome of parent-child attachment (not necessarily attachment itself, as it may be thought) that operates as an "indirect control" over the child's behaviour. This positions further strengthened by the fact that Hirschi did not find support for the effectiveness of disciplinary techniques (or direct controls) in reducing delinquency.

On the contrary, in Hirschi's study (1969:102, note 35), the use of disciplinary techniques by parents was positively (though weakly) related to delinquency. This finding has further support in a body of relatively earlier research. For example in a study by Sears et. al. (1957) the parents' use of punishment had a positive correlation with the children's misconduct. Similarly Berkowitz (1973) suggested that punishment may have an adverse effect on children's behaviour.

However, recent delinquency researchers have found that parental discipline and direct control have inverse relationships with delinquency. Patterson (1980:89-90) in his study of "children who steal" reveals that "...parents of stealers do not track; they do not punish, and they do not care". But Patterson's findings (1980) do add that it is not the severity and frequency of punishment by parents that reduces children's misbehaviours. Instead, it is the contingency and consistency of punishment.

More recent studies have found that direct controls by parents are as effective, in controlling children's delinquent behaviour, as indirect controls (Cernkovich et al 1987; Wells and Rankin 1988). Some of the studies in this category furthermore focused closely on the interaction between parental attachment and direct control by parents. For example another well quoted study by Patterson (1982) generally concludes that punishment by parents was more effective in reducing misbehaviour among children when they were strongly attached to their parents. While this conclusion is in line with relatively earlier research by Becker (1964) and with the finding of Eron et al. (1971), a most recent study by Rankin and Wells (1990) contradicts it. In their study of the effects of parental attachment and the different dimensions of direct control by parents (contingency, consistency and strictness of punishment) Rankin and Wells did not find a clear-cut interaction among these variables:

"punishment that is too strict, frequent or severe can lead to greater probability of delinquency regardless of parental attachments....The adverse effects of both weak attachments and frequent/severe punishment on delinquency appear to be independent (additive) rather than multiplicative or interactive". (Rankin and Wells 1990:163)

In sum, the research findings that I have mentioned in this section indicate that the effects of the different aspects of parental supervision and discipline on children's delinquency and misconduct are not very clear - the controversy continues.

With regard to the present study it should be mentioned again, that the use of the questionnaire was preceded by more than one year of participant observation. During this period it was possible to find out about the nature and forms of supervision and discipline that parents actually used. I reached the conclusion that parental supervision in Edinburgh's Pakistani community included, indirect, direct and disciplinary measures. On the one hand parents monitored and imposed some direct restrictions (on different occasions and on different levels) over their children's (sons) behaviour. At the same time the use of different disciplinary measures such as slapping/hitting, threats of throwing out of the house, and shouting and calling bad names were observable. I shall call all these direct measures by parents in controlling their children's behaviour "parental discipline". On the other hand the more common aspects of indirect parental supervision, the subconscious presence of the parents in the child's mind (as a result of successful attachment to parents) were clearly at work. I shall call these indirect supervisory measures by parents as "parental supervision".

Parental Supervision

As mentioned above, parental supervision in the social-psychological context of the present study means the Pilrig boy's perception that his parents are aware of his whereabouts and of his company when he is away from home. Thus, all the Pilrig boys were asked: *"Do your parents know where you are when you are away from home for recreation? Do you think that:"* (separate response boxes were provided for each parent). Response categories *"He/she always knows"* and *"he/she often knows"* (scored 2 each) accounted for "Moderate" supervision; *"He/she sometimes knows"* and *"he/she does not care about my whereabouts when I am away from home"* (scored 1 each) accounted for "Neglectful" supervision; and *"he/she does not allow me to go for recreation unless I am accompanied by him/her or close relatives"* and *"he/she does not allow me to go for recreation at all"* (scored 3 each) accounted for "Too strict" supervision.

Table 24 Relationship Between Fathers' Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Whereabouts) and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Father's Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Whereabouts)			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	12.50 (2)	87.50 (14)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	15.62 (5)	75.00 (24)	9.37 (3)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	85.71 (6)	14.29 (1)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	30.00 (18)	65.00 (39)	5.00 (3)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.43 Sig. 0.000				

Table 25 Relationship Between Mothers' Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Whereabouts) and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Mother's Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Whereabouts)			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	9.37 (3)	87.50 (28)	3.12 (1)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	42.86 (3)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	20.00 (12)	78.33 (47)	1.67 (1)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.53 Sig. 0.000				

As can be seen in Table 24 that a large majority (87.50%) of the conformist and exactly three quarters of accommodationist boys think that they are under a moderate

supervision of their fathers. Among the part-time conformists only a small minority (14.29%) think in this way. Instead a vast majority of them (85.71%) think that their fathers are neglectful about their supervision. Not surprisingly all the rebels think that their fathers are neglectful regarding their supervision.

It is evident from these results that larger proportions of the deviant boys (part-time conformists and rebels) perceive their fathers as neglectful about their whereabouts and about their companions. The results of the data at hand further indicate that more than two thirds (65%) of all the boys perceive their fathers as moderate about their supervision; less than a third (30%) as neglectful; and only a very small minority (5%) perceive their fathers as too strict about their supervision.

With regards to mothers' supervision, Table 25 indicates that more conformists and accommodationists (100% and 87% respectively) than those in the case of fathers' supervision (87.50% and 75% conformists and accommodationists respectively) perceive their mothers as moderately supervising them. But also, more part-time Conformists (42.86%) as compared to those in the fathers' case (14.29%) perceive their mothers' supervision in this way. However, none of the rebels think of either of their parents as moderately supervising them. Instead, all of them perceive their mothers (as well as their fathers) as neglectful about their supervision, when they are away from home. In addition to this, and quite importantly, almost four fifths (78.33%) of all the boys think that they are under a moderate supervision of their mothers, whereas only about three fifths (65%) of all the boys think so about their father. Only one fifth of all the boys think of their mothers as neglectful regarding their supervision, while a third of them think in this way about their fathers. Interestingly enough insignificant minorities of all the boys (1.67% and 5% for mother and father respectively) say that their parents are too strict.

Moreover, the present data show a larger figure of inverse correlation coefficient between mother's supervision and the level of deviance (-0.53) as compared to that between father's supervision and the dependent variable (-0.43). However, in both cases the independent and the dependent variables are very strongly correlated.

Alongside the emphasis of Edinburgh's Pakistani parents over their children's whereabouts, they place almost an equal emphasis over the companions of their children. They instruct their children to be highly selective, not only about their peers, but also about their companions, in general. Most parents encourage their

sons and daughters to spend their leisure time (if they have any!) with persons belonging to "good" families and who have good a reputation in the community. They are warned to avoid the company and friendship of persons who drink alcohol, use drugs, gamble and persons with unconventional lifestyles and appearances i.e. skinheads and boys who wear earrings. Most parents do not discourage their sons (especially) to make friends with boys from the indigenous British population "as long as they are decent boys", a group of parents told me in an *Eid-milan* party (a communal dinner a few days after the end of the fasting month of *Ramadan*). However, some parents showed reservations "...but the problem is that it is normal for the Scottish teenagers to have girlfriends and even to drink. But these things are wrong in our community. If our children mix with them, they get confused".

Keeping these considerations in mind, the boys were asked next: *"Do your parents know who you are with when you are away from home for recreation? Do you think that:"* Since the format and the response categories of this question are identical to the previous question (except the phrase *"who I am with"* instead of *"my whereabouts"*)the repetition of the response categories is avoided here. Also an identical scoring order and measuring scale: "Neglectful", "Moderate" and "Too strict" are used for both of the questions.

Table 26 Relationship Between Fathers' Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Company) and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Father's Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Company)			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	18.75 (3)	75.00 (12)	6.25 (1)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	31.25 (10)	62.50 (20)	6.25 (2)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	42.86 (3)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	36.67 (22)	58.33 (35)	5.00 (3)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.35 Sig. 0.001				

Table 27 Relationship Between Mothers' Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Company) and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Mother's Supervision (Knowledge of Child's Company)			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	18.75 (3)	75.00 (12)	6.25 (1)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	18.75 (6)	78.12 (25)	3.12 (1)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (60)
Column Total	28.33 (17)	68.33 (41)	3.33 (2)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.33 Sig. 0.003				

Table 26 and 27 indicate that three quarters of the conformists and two thirds of the accommodationists among the Pilgrig boys have the perception that they are under a moderate supervision of their fathers when they are away from home with friends. Among the part-time conformists about two fifths perceive their fathers as moderately supervising them when they are away from home with friends, whereas none of the rebels perceive their fathers in this way. Instead 57.11 percent of the part-time conformists and all the rebels think of their fathers as neglectful in their supervision. These results show that it is majorities of the deviant categories of the boys (part-time conformists and rebels) who think of their fathers supervision as neglectful.

The over all picture of this set of data shows that about three fifths (58.33%) of the boys in this sample perceive themselves under a moderate supervision of their fathers; a little more than one third (36.67%) under a neglectful supervision; and only a small minority (5%) of them perceive their fathers as too strict.

With respect to mothers, it seems, that their role is again crucial in the supervision of their children (sons). Table 27 reveals that three quarters of the conformist boys think that they are under a moderate supervision of their mothers when they are away from home with friends. Exactly the same proportion of them thought so about

their fathers. But among the accommodationists, more than three quarters (78.12%) think that they are under a moderate supervision of their mothers, whereas just two thirds of them think so about their fathers. Somewhat unexpectedly, almost three fifths (57.15%) of the part-time conformists also think that they are under a moderate supervision of their mothers, whereas just over two fifths (42.86%) of them think in this way about their fathers. However, none among the rebels think that they are under a moderate supervision of either their mother and father. The rebels, instead, perceive their parents as neglectful regarding their supervision when they are away from home with friends.

Overall, more boys (68.33%) in the total sample think of their mothers' supervision as moderate compared to 58.33% in the case of fathers. Fewer boys (28.17%) think of their mothers as neglectful, compared to 36.67 percent in the case of father's supervision. Only negligible minorities (5% in the case of fathers and 3.33% in the case of mothers) perceive their parents as too strict. Moreover, in both cases there are moderately strong correlation between the different forms of parental supervision and the degree of deviance among the Pilrig boys.

Up to this point the relationships between the form of parental supervision that is mainly indirect (perception of the child that his parents know about his whereabouts and his company) and the level of deviance has been examined. A kind of uniformity of the results, in all the four sets (or tables) of the data has emerged: boys who perceive their parents as moderately supervising them tend to be among the non-deviants. On the other hand those who perceive their parents as neglectful are, by and large, among the deviant boys. Surprisingly, very few boys have the perception that their parents are too strict in their supervision. Finally, more boys perceive their mothers' supervision as moderate compared to the supervision of their fathers.

After discussing the relationship between perceived "Parental Supervision" and Deviance now it is important to look at the reaction of Pakistani parents when their children (sons) do something that is wrong in the parents' view.

Parental Discipline

As mentioned earlier, the phrase "parental discipline" in the context of the present study refers to those direct measures that parents take after their children commit acts that are considered as "wrong". The disciplinary measures include among other things, corporal punishments, throwing out of house (or the threat of it), shouting

and calling "bad names", and cautioning and persuading not to repeat doing "wrong" things. Thus, in order to explore the relationship between the various disciplinary measures by parents and the level of deviance all the Pilrig boys were asked "*when you do something that is wrong in your parents view, do they*"?: (you can select more than one answer category) (separate response boxes were provided for each parent). Answer categories: "*slap/hit you*"; "*threaten to throw you from home*"; and "*call you bad names*" (scored 3 each) accounted for "Too strict" discipline. "*Advise and encourage you not to repeat is*" (scored 2) accounted for "Moderate" discipline. And finally, answer categories "*ignore it*" and "*does not bother about it*" (scored 1 each) accounted for "Neglectful" discipline.

Table 28 Relationship Between Fathers' Discipline, and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Father's Discipline			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	56.25 (9)	43.75 (7)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	9.37 (3)	56.25 (18)	34.37 (11)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	28.75 (2)	28.75 (2)	42.86 (3)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	20.00 (1)	80.00 (4)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	10.00 (6)	55.00 (33)	35.00 (21)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.20 Sig. 0.040				

Table 29 Relationship Between Mothers' Discipline and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Mother's Discipline			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	62.50 (10)	37.50 (6)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	6.25 (2)	56.25 (18)	37.50 (12)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	14.29 (1)	14.29 (1)	71.43 (5)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	20.00 (1)	80.00 (4)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	6.67 (4)	55.00 (33)	38.33 (23)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.06 Sig. 0.304				

The data in Table 28 show that just a little more than half (56.25%) of each of the conformist and the accommodationist boys report that their fathers used moderate discipline when they did something wrong. Unlike the pattern of the data related to parental supervision, 43.75 percent of the conformists and 34.37 percent of the accommodationists say that their parents use too strict discipline when they do something wrong. Among the part-time conformists only a little more than a quarter (28.57%) say that their fathers use moderate discipline; about two fifths of them (42.86%) report too strict discipline by their fathers.

Interestingly enough, four fifths of the rebels say that the discipline their fathers use is moderate, and another fifth say that it is neglectful (I will return to the interpretation of this apparently, unexpected finding soon). As a whole a little more than a half (55%) of all the boys say that their fathers use moderate disciplinary measures when they do something wrong. A little more than a third (35%) report that their fathers are too strict, and only 1 in 10 say that their fathers are neglectful.

As far as mothers' discipline is concerned results of the findings in Table 29 do not seem significantly different from those related to fathers' discipline. Among the conformists and the accommodationist boys 62.50 percent and 56.25 percent of them respectively, say that their mothers use moderate discipline, whereas in the case of fathers 56.25 of each of the conformists and the accommodationists report

experiencing this type of discipline. 37.50 percent of each these two categories of the boys said that their mothers were too strict as compared to 43.75 percent and 34.37 percent who said their fathers were too strict. However, among the part-time conformists only 14.29% of the boys say that their mothers use moderate discipline. Instead about twice as large a percentage (71.43%) of them as that in the case of fathers' discipline say that their mothers are too strict in disciplining them. Four fifths of the rebels report that each of their parents use moderate disciplinary techniques when they do something wrong, the rest (one fifth) report a neglectful discipline by each of their fathers and mothers.

Again, exactly like in the case of fathers' discipline, more than half (55%) of all the boys in the sample experienced moderate discipline by each parent, 38.33 percent of all the boys report experiencing too strict discipline by their mothers whereas 35 percent of them report this experience with their fathers. While only 6.67% of all the boys report a neglectful supervision by their mothers, one in ten (or 10%) of them report a neglectful discipline by their fathers.

Now, if we look back and compare the data that relate to parental supervision (tables 24 to 27) to that that relate to parental discipline (tables 28 and 29) significant contrasts between the results of these two sets of data appear. In the first set of data the bulk of all the boys (in each of the four tables) perceive the way they are supervised by their parents as either moderate or neglectful (obviously large proportions perceive it as moderate). But, in the second set of the data the bulk of all the boys say that their parents use either moderate or too strict discipline (again larger proportions report moderate discipline). The fact that the large number of non-deviant boys report moderate supervision and moderate discipline by their parents supports the control theorists who say that it is the psychological presence of parents in the child's mind rather than the use of direct control that is crucial in controlling deviance/delinquency. But the problem with the last set of data (parental discipline) is that "facts" are dealt with as if they were "speaking for themselves". That is to say that we (many researchers and I) label "hitting/slapping"; "throwing out of home etc." as "too strict" discipline, and then examine relationships between the type of discipline and deviance. The important point is whether the boys, deviants and non-deviants see these disciplinary techniques, the way we label them or differently. To explore this point further the boys were asked: *"What do you think about the kind of discipline your parents use? Do you think they are:"* Response categories were *"Too strict"; "Just fair" and "Too lax"* (loose) (separate answer categories were used for each parent).

Table 30 Relationship Between Perception of Fathers' Discipline and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Perception of Fathers' Discipline			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	93.75 (15)	6.25 (1)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	3.12 (1)	84.37 (27)	12.50 (4)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	00.00 (0)	71.43 (5)	28.57 (2)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	1.67 (1)	86.67 (52)	11.67 (7)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = 0.07 Sig. 0.263				

Table 31 Relationship Between Perception of Mothers' Discipline and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Perception of Mothers' Discipline			Row Total
	Neglectful	Moderate	Too Strict	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	3.12 (1)	84.37 (27)	12.50 (4)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	00.00 (0)	71.43 (5)	28.57 (2)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	20.00 (1)	80.00 (4)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	3.33 (2)	86.67 (52)	10.00 (6)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = 0.06 Sig. 0.287				

According to Tables 30 and 31 large majorities of all the boys (interestingly, 86.67% in the case of each parent) say that the discipline their parents use is "fair", small minorities of 11.67 percent and 10 percent say that their father and

mother (respectively) are too strict. Negligible minorities of 1.67 percent and 3.33 percent say that their father's and mothers' discipline (respectively) is "too lax".

These results would seem to mean that many Pakistani boys do not consider "hitting/slapping"; "threats or throwing out of home" etc. as "Too strict" disciplinary measures. Rather they see these measures as fair - a legitimate exercise of parental authority. However, the data in Tables 30 and 31 show that some Pakistani boys (mainly the deviant categories) also see "ignoring" and "not bothering" with their "wrong-doings" as "Just fair", rather than "Too lax" discipline. But, there is an obvious difference between the two situations. In the first, because of their internalisation of the cultural values of their community, the boys (mainly non-deviants) do not see the obviously painful disciplinary acts by their parents as harsh or too strict. In this situation what should be considered are the ways the boys see these disciplinary acts; not the nature of these acts. However in the second situation it does not seem reasonable to consider "ignoring" and "not bothering" about children's "wrong-doings" by their parents as fair (as described by, mainly, the deviant boys). This kind of parental supervision (if it can be called supervision at all) is obviously "Neglectful" and "Too lax". So in this second situation what should be counted are the actual supervisory measures rather than the description of the boys.

If this argument is acceptable, then we will have somewhat different pictures of Tables 30 and 31 than they look at present: there will be more boys whose supervision by their parents is "Too lax" - but probably too few to change the present picture of these Tables dramatically.

In conclusion, the position arguing that indirect parental supervision (the psychological presence of parents in the child's mind) is more important than direct disciplinary controls in controlling delinquency receives cautious support from the data at hand.

Nonetheless, the present data yielded some relatively concrete results: Boys who perceive their parents as moderately supervising them tend to be among the non-deviants, whereas those who perceive their parents as neglectful tend to be among the deviant boys. These results are identical with the findings of the well-known English study:

"A particularly noticeable characteristic of parents of delinquents in the study was carelessness or laxness in matters of supervision. They were less concerned than other parents to watch over or to know about their children's doings, whereabouts and companions,..."(West 1982:57). Similarly findings of another study in England by Wilson and Heriott (1980) are in line with this conclusion.

After examining the relationships between attachments to parents, parental supervision and discipline, and deviance in the Pilrig sample, now, it is appropriate to look at attachment within the context of the school.

Attachment To The School

From the social control perspective school is seen as an important social institution (after the family) responsible for the transmission of societal values and conventional morality to the younger members of society. In fact the school is seen as a unique social institution that bridges the family to the larger conventional society. According to Hirschi (1969:110) "Between the conventional family and the conventional world of work and marriage lies the school, an eminently conventional institution". This implies that the school is next to the family in the development of the child's social bond to society. The school socialises youngsters to society's values and morality ("belief") and trains them for successful "involvement" in conventional activities, and "commitment" to conventional lines of action. Not only the school performs this future-oriented function of bonding to society through its social consequences; but attachment to the school itself (positive sentiments and respect to teachers, to school authority, and to school's values and norms) partly constitutes the child's bond to the society.

In probing relationships between attachment to the school and delinquency Hirschi (1969:132) suggests a "causal chain" that "runs from academic incompetence to poor school performance to disliking of school to rejection of school authority to the commission of delinquent acts". However, it must be mentioned that in this "causal chain" academic competence is assumed to be only indirectly related to delinquency so far attachment to the school is concerned. In the logic of social control theory "academic competence" (or its equivalent i.e. scholastic performance) is considered only instrumental to the child's attachment to school; it is not attachment itself.

In other words, academic competence positively influences the child's attitude towards the school (relationships between academic competence and deviance in the

Pilrig sample are analysed in Chapter VI where it is shown that the two variables are strongly correlated). It is then the liking or disliking of school that is assumed to have direct relationships with conformity or deviance.

Thus from the view point of the social control theorist the child who does not like school and does not care about his teachers' opinions, is weakly attached to the school. Therefore he/she is more likely to commit delinquent acts. There is much empirical evidence showing inverse relationships between liking school and delinquency (Glueck 1950; Jensen and Eve 1976; Thomas and Hyman 1978; Johnson 1979; Wiatrowski et al 1981; Kaplan and Robbins 1983; Agnew 1985).

Liking The School And Caring About Teachers' Opinions

To examine relationships between attachment to the school and deviance the Pilrig boys were first asked a direct question: *"In general, do you like school? "Would you say that you: ":Like it in every way" and "Like it in most ways" (score 3 and 2 respectively) accounted for much liking of the school, whereas "Like it in some ways" and "Dislike it" (scored 1 and 0 respectively) accounted for little liking of the school. (separate response categories were provided for each of the local and mosque schools).*

Table 32 Relationship Between Liking the Local School and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Liking the Local School		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	12.50 (2)	87.50 (14)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	25.00 (8)	75.00 (24)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	60.00 (3)	40.00 (2)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	26.67 (16)	73.33 (44)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.26 Sig. 0.01			

Table 33 Relationship Between Liking the Mosque School and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Liking the Mosque School		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	31.25 (5)	68.75 (11)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	28.12 (9)	71.87 (23)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	36.67 (22)	63.33 (38)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.22 Sig. 0.03			

Table 32 shows sharp and consistent differences between deviant and non-deviant boys as regard to their degree of liking the local school. Likewise, similar differences (though less consistent) can be seen between deviant and non-deviant boys in the case of the mosque school as Table 33 indicates. While 87.50 percent and 75 percent of the conformist and accommodationist boys (respectively) like the local school much, 68.75 percent and 71.87 percent of the two categories (respectively) express much liking for the mosque school. Exactly the same proportions (57.19%) of the part-time conformists say that they like both the local and the mosque school much. But only two fifths of the rebels (40%) say that they like the local school much, whereas none of them like the mosque school much. Moreover, fewer boys (63.33%) in the total sample express much liking for the mosque school as compared to those in the local school (73.33%). As expected both liking the local school and liking the mosque school are inversely correlated to the level of deviance. The correlation coefficients in both cases (local school: -0.26 and school: -0.22) are moderately strong.

Boys who like school and find it rewarding and relevant to their future are more likely to respect its prevailing norms and values and the legitimacy of the school authority. A central figure in this regard is the teacher (this is particularly true in the Islamic culture). The teacher in the Islamic culture is not only respected because of his official status but as a person of knowledge and a model of high moral standards. The teacher is commonly referred to as "the spiritual father". With such a central

place of the teacher in the school, the Pilrig boys were next asked: *"Do you care what your teachers think of you?"*; would you say that you care: *"very much"* and *"a lot"* accounted for much caring about teachers' opinions, whereas *"not very much"* and *"not at all"* for little care.

Table 34 Relationship Between Caring About Teachers' Opinions and the Level of Deviance (Local School)

Typology	Caring about Teachers' Opinions (Local School)		
	Little	Much	Row Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	25.00 (4)	75.00 (12)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	34.37 (11)	65.62 (21)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	42.86 (3)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	80.00 (4)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	38.83 (23)	61.67 (37)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.26 Sig. 0.01			

Table 35 Relationship Between Caring About Teachers' Opinions and the Level of Deviance (Mosque School)

Typology	Caring about Teachers' Opinions (Mosque School)		
	Little	Much	Row Total
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	25.00 (4)	75.00 (12)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	40.62 (13)	59.37 (19)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	71.43 (5)	28.75 (2)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	45.00 (27)	55.00 (33)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.36 Sig. 0.001			

Both tables 34 and 35 show a clear consistency between the decreasing number of boys who care much about their teachers' opinions (in both schools) and the increasing degree of their deviation from the Pakistani community's norms: three quarters of the conformists say that they care much about their teachers' opinions both in the local and in the mosque schools, whereas fewer (59.37%) accommodationists say this about their teachers in the mosque school as compared to their teachers in the local school (65.62%). Among the deviant categories of the boys about two fifths (42.86%) of the part-time conformists and one fifth of the rebels say that they care much about their teachers opinions. These last two categories are further less sensitive to their teachers opinions in the mosque school: only 28.57 percent of the part-time conformists and none of the rebels care much about their teachers opinions in the mosque school. Instead the large majority (71.43%) of the part-time conformists and all the rebels care little what their teachers in the mosque school think of them.

The above findings, indicating moderately strong inverse relationships between caring about teachers' opinions, and the level of deviance are further supported by the correlation coefficients between the two variables. However the independent variable is more strongly correlated to the level of deviance in the case of the mosque school (-0.36) than in the case of the local school (-0.26).

From comparing the attitude of the deviant categories of the boys to their teachers in each of the local school and in the mosque schools an important question arises: why do much larger proportions of the deviant boys care little (or not at all) about the opinions of *Hafiz Sahib(s)* than about the opinions of their teachers in the local school?

There may be more than one answer to the question in point. Nonetheless, placing the question in its social context may help in providing a more plausible explanation. As described in Chapter III the social organisation of the mosque school fails to provide a social situation that is conducive to the development of the Pilrig boys' attachment to the *Hafiz Sahibs* (teachers of the mosque). Development of emotional attachment to persons and to institutions is normally a voluntary process in a relaxed and congenial communicative situation. But because of many reasons, mainly the lack of sufficient classroom facilities, lack of effective communication between the *Hafiz Sahibs* and the students and the method of teaching, *sabaq* becomes an uninteresting monotonous activity for many boys. The disinterest of some of these boys which is often

accompanied by *shararat* (troublesome behaviour) is automatically reacted to by various kinds of punishments, including physical. Frustrated and angry, some of the boys question the very relevance of *sabaq* to their future: "there is no point in reading the Quran in Arabic without understanding its meaning", few boys told me. This kind of situation creates a degree of estrangement between these boys, *Hafiz Sahibs* and the mosque school, rather than attachment to them. Thus, boys who have no emotional attachment to persons in authority (and controlling institutions), in effect deny the legitimacy of their authority and therefore they have no obligation to care what they think of them.

Nevertheless in the total sample a little more than half (55%) of the boys say that they care much what their teachers think of them in the mosque school. But a larger number (61.67%) say so about their teachers in the local school.

Attendance Of The School

To this point analysis of the present data showed that liking the school and caring about teachers opinions are inversely correlated with the level of deviance. The more the Pilrig boys liked their school and the more they cared about their teachers' opinions, the less deviant they were. Now, boys who have favourable sentiments to their school and teachers are expected to be keen in attending the school regularly. They are expected to give priority to going to school over other things to do at home, shop or elsewhere. For finding out the relationship (if any) between the degree of regularity of school attendance, and the level of deviance the Pilrig boys were asked: "*During the past school year, for how many days were you absent from school, because you had important work to do at your home/shop? would you say that you had been absent for*": "*more than three weeks*" and "*about two weeks*" (scored 0 and 1 respectively) accounted for little regularity in school attendance. "*less than a week*" and "*never*" (scored 2 and 3 respectively) accounted for much regularity².

²It should be mentioned that this question (about regularity of school attendance) was devised in a negative way. That is to say the boys were asked about their absence from school (or non-regularity) rather than regularity of attendance in the school. This is because it was much easier for the boys to be more precise in remembering the days (or weeks) of staying away from school than the number of the days of their attendance. Also it would have been more complicated to manipulate the "raw" data statistically, should the question have been asked in a positive way.

Table 36 Relationship Between Regularity of the Local School Attendance and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Regularity of School Attendance (Local School)		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	18.75 (3)	81.25 (13)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	28.12 (9)	71.87 (23)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	14.29 (1)	85.71 (6)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	80.00 (4)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	28.33 (17)	71.67 (43)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.18 Sig. 0.06			

Table 37 Relationship Between Regularity of the Mosque School Attendance and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Regularity of School Attendance (Mosque School)		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	37.50 (6)	62.20 (10)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	50.00 (16)	50.00 (16)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	50.00 (30)	50.00 (30)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.20 Sig. 0.04			

As can be seen in Table 36 that large majorities of the conformists (81.25%), accommodationists (71.87%) and (unexpectedly) a larger majority of the part-time

conformists (85.71%) report much regularity in attending the local school. However, the rebels differ significantly from the rest: only one fifth (20%) of them report much regularity of attending the local school.

As far as the mosque school is concerned about two thirds of the conformists (62.50%), a half of the accommodationists (50%) and again unexpectedly 57.14 percent of the part-time conformists report much regularity of attending the mosque school. None of the rebels report much regularity in attending the mosque school. In fact all of the rebels attended their *sabaq* less regularly, in the past year.

The above presentation of the data shows that "regularity of school attendance" as an indicator of attachment to school, discriminates less sharply as compared to "liking the school" and "caring about teachers' opinions" between the deviant and the non-deviant categories of the boys, in both the local and in the mosque schools. This is further reflected in the strong (but not very or moderately strong) inverse correlation between regularity of attendance in the mosque school and the level of deviance (-0.2). The correlation is weak between the two variables (-0.18) in the case of the local school. It should be mentioned that the fact that larger majorities of the part-time conformists report much regularity in school attendance not only makes the distinction between the deviant and non-deviant boys less clearer. It also raises the question that why does a larger proportion of the part-time conformists as compared to the non-deviant boys report much regularity in attending the local school. Similarly, in the case of the mosque-school more part-time conformists attend the *sabaq* than the accommodationists.

One possible interpretation can be that the part-time conformists (as the label connotes) are individuals who frequently deviate from their community's norms, and yet do not want to break their relationships with the community. Therefore to demonstrate their allegiance with the community and also to cover up their deviations, regular attendance of the mosque school may be one way at playing the game. An evidence for this was clearly observable during *Ramadan*: Some boys after taking part in the special late night long prayers during *Ramadan* (*Taravih*) quietly slipped away to night clubs. The prayer normally took about three hours. The boys were used to arriving early and queuing near the entrance so that they can be seen by everybody. After the estimated three hundred worshippers, in the front queue stood attentively facing Mecca, the boys quietly left the mosque, facing downwards towards Edinburgh's night clubs!

Finally, the data shows that a much larger proportion (71.67%) of all the boys attended the local school more regularly as compared to their attendance of the mosque school (50%).

To sum up, those boys who did not like much the local and the mosque schools, did not care much what their teachers thought of them, and did not more regularly attend the two schools were markedly among the deviant categories. All the three variables were inversely correlated with the level of deviance. However, regularity of school attendance, was not as strongly correlated with the level of deviance as were academic competence, liking the school and caring about teachers' opinions. The correlation coefficient between regularity of school attendance and the dependant variable was stronger in the case of the mosque school as compared to the local school. But, the correlation coefficient, between all the independent and their dependent variables were stronger in the case of the local school as compared to the mosque school. Larger proportions of all the boys expressed more liking, cared more about their teachers' opinions and attended more regularly the local school than the mosque school.

Attachment To Friends

In criminological theory, the connection between peer group, delinquency, and non-delinquency, has been approached in various ways. The presently more dominant approaches in this regard are those of the "cultural deviance" and of the "social control" theorists (see Wilson and Herrnstein 1985:291-9).

First, there is the view of the theorists of "cultural deviance" who contend that association with delinquents leads to the delinquency of those who are not delinquents. Among the first academic proponents of this view is Edwin Sutherland (1924) who is well known for his "Differential Association" theory. According to Sutherland's theory that was further developed with the co-authorship of his student and colleague Donald Cressey (1978:81) "A person becomes delinquent because of the excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law". That is that individuals learn criminal delinquent values, attitudes and behaviour from association with their criminal delinquent friends. Other theorists within the "cultural deviance" approach maintain that membership in a particular socio-economic class, sub-group or delinquent sub-culture leads to delinquency and crime (Millar 1958; Cohen 1955; Cloward and Ohlin 1960). Though these theories differ from each other in how and why delinquent peers and particular subcultures and groups "cause" delinquency and crime, the common ground between them is that

young persons are strongly influenced by the values and expectations of their delinquent/criminal friends and associates.

Since the emergence of the earlier versions of the "cultural deviance" perspective, there have been numerous studies which show that many of juvenile offences have been committed by persons belonging to a criminal group. (Shaw and Mackay 1930; Cohen 1955; Klein 1969; Hindelang 1971,1976; Erickson 1971; Erickson and Jensen 1977; Greenwood, Petersilia, and Zimring 1980). These data are, generally thought as empirical support for the thesis of "cultural deviance" theory.

The second major view about the connection between peer group and delinquency, and more importantly, non-delinquency is that of control theorists. These theorists, while looking at the same data that are used as support for the "cultural deviance" theory, reach a different conclusion. The social control theorists maintain that delinquents are involved in delinquency before they join a gang with other delinquents. Because they are delinquents, they have common interests in delinquency, and therefore they form/join a delinquent gang. The Gluecks' (1960) well-known and influential study of five hundred delinquent boys strongly supported this position. The Gluecks found that their delinquents had been involved in delinquency before they joined the juvenile gangs. The control theorists used these data arguing that since gang membership comes after delinquency it is, logically impossible for it to be a cause of delinquency.

Thus, from the social control perspective, it appears that, membership of a delinquent gang is a choice that the delinquent makes, rather than the result of "bad influence" by delinquent peers. But the question is why do delinquents make such a "bad" choice? Hirschi's (1969:40) answer is that because delinquents do not have much of a "good" choice - they have lost their stake in conformity:

"The lack of attachment to others and the absence of commitment to individualistic success values lead to association with delinquents [that is, with others similarly lacking in attachment and commitment]. Since delinquents are less strongly attached to conventional adults than non-delinquents, they are less likely to be attached to each other"

(Hirschi 1969:140)

There appear to be two important points in the above quoted passage: First, Hirschi says that because of their low stakes in conformity (broken/weak social bond to conventional persons and institutions, and poor scholastic achievements), delinquents associate with other boys who are in a similar situation. The second point in Hirschi's quotation is that despite their apparent "hanging around" with each other, delinquents are less attached to their delinquent peers. In other words, delinquents are persons with no attachments or weak attachments, even to their own peers.

To return to the first point, the present data has clearly supported the control theorists' position, so far as the relationships between a low stake in conformity and delinquency is concerned. Throughout this Chapter it has been confirmed that weak attachments to parents, to school and poor scholastic achievements were, in general, correlated with deviance.

As far as the second point is concerned - delinquents are less attached to their peers - the data at hand, generally, fail to support Hirschi's assumption. For "testing" Hirschi's assumption about attachment to peers, the population of this study were asked three questions. The first was: *"how important are your friends in your life? would you say that they are:"* "very important" and "fairly important" accounted for much importance. "not very important" and "not important at all" accounted for little importance. As can be seen in Table 38, results of the present data do not show significant differences between deviant and non-deviant boys, as regard to the degree of importance of friends to them. In fact large majorities (though with slight differences) of all the four categories of the boys say that friends are of much importance to them in their lives. The statistical calculation of the data further confirms that there is no correlation (0.01) between the importance of friends and the level of deviation.

Table 38 Relationship between Importance of Friends and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Importance of Friends		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	25.00 (4)	75.00 (12)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	18.75 (6)	81.26 (26)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	28.75 (2)	71.43 (5)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	20.00 (1)	80.00 (4)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	21.67 (13)	78.33 (47)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = 0.01		Sig. 0.45	

However the mere importance of friends in ones life does not, necessarily, indicate closeness to them. Friends may be important for "instrumental reasons" i.e. playing football with them, but not much more! Closeness among peers would require, among other things, intimacy, mutual trust and therefore respect for one anothers opinion in making certain decisions in life. Thus, the boys were asked next: *"How often do you respect your best friends opinion about the important things in your life? would you say:"* "always" and "often" Accounted for much respect, whereas, "sometimes" and "hardly ever" for little respect for best friends' opinion.

Table 39 Relationship between Respect for Best Friends' Opinions and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Respect for Best Friends' Opinions		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	37.50 (6)	62.50 (10)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	34.37 (11)	65.62 (21)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	42.86 (3)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	60.00 (3)	40.00 (2)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	40.00 (24)	60.00 (36)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.11 Sig. 0.16			

According to Table 39, about two thirds of each of the conformists (62.50%) and of the accommodationists (65.62%) say that they have much respect for their best friends' opinions in the important matters in their lives. Among the deviant categories of the boys, a little more than two fifths of the part-time conformists (42.86%) and exactly two fifths of the rebels say that they have much respect for their best friends' opinions about the important things in their lives. That is to say that majorities of the last two categories have little respect for their best friends' opinion. These results do not meet the theoretical expectations; the differences between the deviant and the non-deviant categories as regard to the degree of their respect to best friends' opinions are not very striking. This fact is confirmed by the weak (Tau b =-0.11) inverse correlation between the degree of respect to best friends' opinions and the level of the Pilrig boys' deviation from the normative standards of Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

Besides respect for friends' opinion another indicator of attachment to peers which is often used by control theorists and researchers is "positive identification" with peers. So, all the boys in the Pilrig sample were asked a third and final question, regarding their attachment to their peers: *"How much would you like to be the kind of person your best friends are? would you say" "In every way" and "in most ways"*

accounted for much identification with best friends: and *"in some ways"* and *"not at all"* accounted for little identification.

Table 40 Relationship between Identification with Best Friends and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Identification with Best Friends		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	81.25 (13)	18.75 (3)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	56.25 (18)	43.75 (14)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	85.71 (6)	14.29 (1)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	60.00 (3)	40.00 (2)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	66.67 (40)	33.33 (20)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = 0.08 Sig. 0.25			

Table 40 does not show significant differences between the deviant and the non-deviant categories of the boys as regard to the degree of their identification with their best friends. The statistical test further confirms that the degree of identification with best friends and the degree of deviance among the Pilrig boys are not correlated (Tau b = 0.08)

The data so far analysed, in this section, show that the results of tables 38, 39 and 40 do not support the control theorists' assumption - delinquents are less attached to their peers than non-delinquents. This raises the question that why the control theorists' assumptions about the connection between attachment to parents and school and deviance have been generally confirmed, in the present study, but not his assumption about the connection between attachment to peers and deviance.

One answer could, simply, be that the facts do not fit Hirschi's assumptions. That is that attachment to peers ("best friends") has less important effects in controlling deviance among the Pilrig boys as compared to the effects of attachments to parents and to the school. But it seems that a more accurate answer to the question is hidden in the cultural complexities of the patterns of friendship with kin and friends among

Edinburgh's Pakistanis. As described in Chapter II individuals in this particular community are not only closely related to each other through their immediate families. They are also closely tied to one another through extended families and through net-works of kinship/friendship (the *Biraderi*) relationships. The younger Pakistani boys' experiences of racial discrimination, exclusion and rejection in the wider society have particularly led to their withdrawal from the wider society; and this, in turn, resulted into their need for "sticking together, walking together, and going out together" as the ethnographic data of this study reveals (see Chapter IV).

Thus, alongside their close and warm relationships with members of their immediate families, Pakistani children frequently and closely interact with children within their kin-group. Since this interaction is positively encouraged by parents and adult kin, the Pakistani children normally develop close ties of friendship and identify with children within the kin-group. The intra-kin relationships of friendship among these children are often so close that they often refer to each other as "Bhaie jan" (brother/elder brother) or "Cazan" (cousin). They often have strong attachment and identify with each other. This is not to say that Edinburgh's Pakistani boys do not have friends with boys outside their kin-group and with non-Pakistani boys; they often do and call these boys "Best friends". But this pattern of friendship, generally, seems to be business-like, "instrumental" and "diplomatic", rather than based on intimacy, mutual trust and identification. Hence, it would appear, that it is attachment to "Bhaie Jan" and "Cazan" that can play a crucial role in controlling deviance among the Pakistani boys; non-kin and non-Pakistani boys are just called "best friend" without a real sense of attachment to them.

If this interpretation of the present data that relates attachment to "Best Friends" is correct, then it is very unlikely for the Pakistani boys to be influenced by the values and expectations of their delinquent "Best Friends".

Delinquent Friends

It was mentioned in the previous section that according to the more influential versions of cultural deviance theory-"Differential Association" - association with delinquent peers leads to the delinquency of those who are not delinquents (see App. for further details). Delinquency researchers have, generally "tested" this assertion by the number of one's friends who were picked up by the police or were suspended from school. Borrowing from these researchers, both in the cultural deviance and

control theory traditions, the following measures were used to examine the relationship (if any) between attachment to delinquent friends and deviance among the Pilrig boys. Hence, all of the sixty boys were asked:

"Among your friends, has any one had trouble with the police or been to the "children's hearing"?" Answer categories were: *"none"*, *"one"*, *"two or three"* and *"more than three"*.

Table 41 Relationship between Number of Friends who had Trouble with the Police and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Friends having Trouble with the Police				Row Total
	None	One	2 - 3	4 +	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	62.50 (10)	12.50 (2)	25.00 (4)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	59.37 (19)	28.12 (9)	06.25 (2)	06.25 (2)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	71.43 (5)	14.29 (1)	00.00 (0)	14.29 (1)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	20.00 (1)	40.00 (2)	40.00 (2)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	58.33 (35)	23.33 (14)	13.33 (8)	05.00 (3)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = 0.07 Sig. 0.25					

As can be seen in Table 41, there have been no significant differences between the deviant and the non-deviant boys in having "best friends" who had trouble with the police or been to the "children's hearing" panel. Nor the number of such friends significantly discriminated between the two categories of the boys. The statistical test of correlation co-efficient, furthermore, showed that there is no relationship between the degree of deviation and the number of delinquent friends (Tau b=.07).

Since having troubles with the police or being to the "children's hearing" panels are not the only criteria for the officially defined delinquency, the Pilrig boys were asked next: *"Among your best friends, has anyone been suspended from school?"* (the same answer categories as those for the previous question were used).

Table 42 Relationship between Number of Friends Suspended from School and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Number of Friends Suspended from School				Row Total
	None	One	2 - 3	4 +	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	68.75 (11)	18.75 (3)	12.50 (2)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	50.00 (16)	34.37 (1)	12.50 (4)	03.12 (1)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	28.57 (2)	00.00 (0)	14.29 (1)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	20.00 (1)	60.00 (3)	20.00 (1)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	53.33 (32)	31.67 (19)	11.67 (7)	03.33 (2)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = 0.16 Sig. 0.07					

The findings show that there are only small differences between the deviant and the non-deviant boys as regard to having a "best friend" (or a number of best friends) who have been suspended from school. A positive correlation (0.16) exists between the number of best friends who were suspended from school and the level of deviance. These findings show that having one or more "best" delinquent friend(s) did not effect the values and behaviour of Pilrig boys significantly. This conclusion, as it seems, contrasts with many studies on the subject to which I referred earlier. But this should not be surprising. "Simple facts" without placing them in their "social" contexts can be less meaningful and, occasionally, misleading. As suggested earlier that because of the duality of patterns of friendship in this particular community, the Pilrig boys tend to have strong ties of friendship within their kinship group. Friendship outside kinship is often instrumental and business-like. Thus, delinquent friends who fall into the latter category are less likely to be a source of influence over the non-deviant boys, in the Pilrig sample. Friends who play a crucial role in this respect are "Bhaie jan" and "Cazan". Though "Bhaie jan" and "Cazan" are expected, and normally are a source of pro-conformity influence. But, this is not always the case. Close associates of a deviant/delinquent "Bhaie jan" or "Cazan" are often their deviant young kin. The clearest evidence for this point, during my participant observation in the mosque school, was that most of the Pilrig boys were in groups of three, four or five. Boys belonging to a group often sat together in the class; studied together; and some groups also made trouble together.

An interesting observation, in this respect, was that the boys who were later identified as "deviants" had their own groups; and there was a similarly strong tendency among the "non-deviant" boys. But even more interestingly, it later became clear that members in each group were brothers and/or close kin. If a group comprised "deviant" boys - part-time conformists and rebels - its members often included real brothers and/or close kin (though the older deviant boys tended not to be in the same group of deviant boys in which their real brother was). Similarly, groups of non-deviant boys included either real brothers and/or close kin. Both deviance and non-deviance among Pilrig boys tended to occur within tight circles of brothers and/or kin; and, thus it may be said that despite the apparent lack of quantitative empirical support, delinquent friends are, probably, a source of ("bad"), influence over the non-deviant boys in the Pilrig sample. But, it is very likely that it is the influence of delinquent/deviant "Bhaie Jan" and "Cazan" that matters in this regard. The so-called "Best Friends" appear to be of less importance.

Now the question is that whether it is a deviant/delinquent, "Bhaie Jan" and/or "Cazan" who influenced the other members of a deviant group; or that members of a deviant group had a low stake in conformity to begin with; and then they were attracted by a deviant real brother, "Bhaie Jan" and/or "Cazan" who had much in common with them, and "recruited" them into their "gang".

The data presented throughout this Chapter suggest that the rebels and the part-time conformists (deviant boys) had, significantly, weak attachments to their parents, to their school, and had poor scholastic achievements, as compared to the conformists and the accommodationists. Because of their common background in having a low stake in conforming behaviour, the deviant (real) brothers and/or cousins had common interests in deviance, and therefore, they formed their own groups.

It may be said that the deviant boys had weak attachments to their parents and poor scholastic achievements, because they were (first) "spoiled" by "Bhaie Jan" and/or "Cazan". But, the difficulty with this argument is that it raises the question that why were the conformists and the accommodationist boys in their own groups of non-deviants? Obviously, it can not logically be argued that the non-deviant boys were first positively influenced by their conformist "Bhaie Jan" and "Cazan" and then they developed strong attachments to parents and school. Attachments to parents (almost) always take place before attachments to kin and friends in Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

Looking back at the different theoretical assumptions, it may be summarised that: The assumption that delinquents/deviants are persons with a low stake in conformity (weak attachments to parents to school and low scholastic achievement) has already had sufficient support by the data that were presented in the previous sections of this Chapter (see pp). But the assumption that delinquents/deviants are less attached to their peers than non-delinquents/non-deviants was not supported by the present quantitative data: there was no significant relationship between "importance of friends", "respect to best friends opinion", "identification with best friends" and deviance and conformity. However interpreting these results, it was suggested that attachment to friends in Edinburgh's Pakistani community, normally occurs within the kin group, rather than with "Best friends" outside it. It is attachment to "Bhaie Jan" and/or "Cazan" that is more likely to be important in controlling deviance among the Pilrig boys. The so called "Best Friends" of the Pilrig boys seem to be just for "hanging around" with for instrumental reasons.

Likewise, the theoretical assumption that association with delinquents/deviants leads to delinquency did not have clear-cut support from the data collected by quantitative measures in the present study: There was no correlation between "having a best friend" (or a number of them) who had trouble with the police or has been to the "children's hearing panel" and the level of deviance. There was only weak positive relationship between having "a best friend (or a number of them) who was suspended from school" and the dependent variable.

Nevertheless, the ethnographic evidence suggests that deviants among the Pilrig boys were often in groups of their other deviant kin. Members of these groups might have been influenced by the values and behaviour of their more deviant members. But, it was argued that it is most likely that the potential deviants joined groups of the deviants because they all had a low stake in conformity (weak attachments to parents, teachers and poor scholastic performance), and hence they had more in common with the deviant boys than with the non-deviant in the Pilrig sample.

CHAPTER SIX

COMMITMENT, INVOLVEMENT AND BELIEF

Introduction

After the empirical examination of attachment, the other three elements of Hirschi's Social Control Theory – commitment, involvement and belief – are examined in this chapter. Each one of these three elements of Hirschi's theory is individually operationalised in the social, cultural and religious context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community the analysis of each of the three elements constitutes a section of the chapter. First the concept of commitment is theoretically examined, and is defined as an individual's social investments in conventional behaviour. In operationalising commitment, "educational success", "aspirations for higher/professional education", and "family Izzet, (honour)", are considered as indicators of the concept. Results of the empirical findings are discussed and interpreted under the sub-headings: "Commitment and Education" and "Commitment and Family Izzet".

Involvement which is the behavioural counterpart of commitment is discussed in the second section of the chapter. After a theoretical and conceptual examination involvement, is operationally defined as an individual's participation in conventional activities with the effect he/she has little time for thinking about crime/delinquency, let alone committing it. However the concept is further sharpened, and it is argued that involvement in all conventional activities does not contribute to controlling crime/delinquency; instead, it is inhibitive involvement - participation in those conventional activities that strengthen an individual's social bond to society/ community's conventional order - that is effective in controlling crime/delinquency. To operationalise involvement, "time spent on homework" and "participation in the activities of mosque/community" are considered as the main indicators of the concept; "Feeling of nothing to do" is further added to the two indicators of involvement. Results of the empirical findings are discussed and interpreted under the general sub-headings: "involvement in school-related activities" and "involvement in mosque/community-related activities".

Finally, belief, as the fourth and the last element of Hirschi's social control theory is theoretically and empirically analysed in the third section of the chapter. Belief which is defined as the moral "validity" or "Legitimacy" of society/community's rules and norms is operationalised both in the context of the Edinburgh's Pakistani (Muslim) community and that in of the wider Scottish society. Thus, "the extent to follow Islamic teachings (in this country)", the extent of agreement with "one must be honest with all people", and "feelings of guilt after doing some dishonesty to

people", were considered as indicators of belief. The results of the empirical findings are analysed under the sub-headings: "Belief and Islamic Teachings" and "Belief and the Moral Values of Society".

Commitment

In the process of our social living, most of us make certain social and material investments in conventional behaviour; most of us engage in certain conventional activities. We work fairly hard to have a place for living, to acquire certain goods for our daily use, and to have a bank account for our future needs. We spend our time, our energy and often our money to acquire educational qualifications, to get married, form a family and develop a good reputation. We engage in these activities because society rewards us for them. Society's rewards include, among other things, social approval, respectable social status and occupational positions. The more progressively we get engaged in these activities and institutional arrangements the more we become committed to the conventional lines of action - lines of action that society approves. But, it is at this stage that we realise that we are trapped in a "golden cage" of our own making. We find out that the investments that we have made in conventional behaviour are too much to be jeopardised by engaging in activities that are considered deviant. Society uses these investments as its "insurance" that we will conform to its norms!

It is clear from what has been said that commitment is the rational element of Hirschi's social control theory. That is to say that most individuals are "reasoning"; they calculate the benefits and costs of behaving in alternative ways, deviant and non-deviant, and choose those they think more beneficial. It is at this point where much common ground can be found between social control and "Rational Choice" theories, as Hirschi (1986:113) acknowledges: "Rational choice theory and social control theory share the same image of man, an image rather different from the image of sociological positivism. Rational choice theory and social control theory are therefore the same theory reared in different disciplinary contexts" (see Hirschi (1986:105-28) for details).

Understood as social and material investments in conventional behaviour the relevance of commitment in controlling crime/deviance comes into prominence when one feels temptation to deviate. It is on this occasion when one must first think about the pros and the cons of a deviant behaviour in the light of his/her past investments, as Hirschi (1969:20) put it: "When, or whenever he considers deviant behaviour, he must consider the costs of this deviant behaviour, the risk of losing the investments he has made in conventional behaviour".

Commitment, however, is not only investment from the past that has consequences for the present. Commitment is equally future-oriented. It has important consequences for one's future prospects. An ambitious student in school has to work hard to get high marks so that he/she is eligible to enter certain fields of higher and professional education; he/she would try to improve his/her CV for future career prospects. Society's promises for future rewards may keep many young ambitious persons committed to the conventional line of action. Even a higher degree of commitment to conventional lines of action may be required for certain individuals, in order to be eligible for important social roles. For example less than the socially "required" degree of commitment to societal values and morality may endanger the future prospects of ambitious politicians: Gary Hart, presidential candidate in America's 1988 general election was forced to resign because he, once-upon-a-time, had an "affair" outside marriage; John Tower a proposed defence minister for George Bush's first cabinet was disqualified because of his past reputation as a "womaniser"; Cecil Parkinson had to resign as chairman of the British Conservative Party in 1983 because of his extra marital relations; and Tim Yeo a Junior Minister in Prime Minister John Major's cabinet had to resign for very similar reasons, in 1994.

But, involvement in the kind of behaviour that was mentioned in the above examples may not have any (or important) consequences for the future prospects of an ordinary citizen. This fact points to the relativistic nature of the meaning of commitment to members of different social groups. These groups may be divided by age, gender/sex, class, religion, ethnicity and even occupation in a society. This complexity of the meaning of commitment, is nicely described by Howard Becker:

It is important to recognise that many sets of valuable things have value only within subcultural groups in a society and that many side bets producing commitment are made within systems of value of limited provenience. Regional, ethnic and social class subcultures all provide raw materials for side bets peculiar to those sharing in the culture, as do the variants of these related to differing age and sex status".

(Becker 1970:39)

However, Becker(1970:39) does not deny that there are certain social values that have societal currency, as he adds that "some systems of values permeate an entire society".

It seems safe to say that the meaning of commitment can be more adequately understood in its narrower social contexts in which it operates. That is because the degree of emphasis on certain sets of values and standards of morality varies in different social groups. But at the same time, there are some sets of values that enjoy almost the same degree of importance and emphasis across social groupings in a society.

Having examined the meaning of commitment from a theoretical point of view, now, the question is: How and in what context is juvenile crime/deviance, operationally, explained in terms of commitment, as an element of Hirschi's Social Control Theory?

For the social control theorist the school is an appropriate social context for explaining juvenile crime/deviance, in terms of social investments that adolescents make in conventional behaviour. The extent of adolescents' educational successes and the degree of their higher educational and occupational aspirations are, generally, considered as key variables in explaining juvenile crime/deviance. In the words of Box:

"To the extent that adolescents become involved in school, have plans or desires for future academic success, experience positive present success from teachers' evaluations, then they have stake in conformity. Accordingly, school failures or rejects might perceive that they have little to lose by committing delinquent acts because their future looks bleak without academic qualifications, the key to better paid jobs (emphasis added) (Box 1981:130)

The above description of school as a proper social context for the study of adolescents' social investments in conventional behaviour, generally, applies to the situation of Pakistani adolescents in Pilrig. As mentioned in Chapter II, formal educational qualifications are highly valued in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Despite a degree of hidden pessimism of their parents (due to racial discrimination in employment as discussed in chapter one) the Pilrig boys are highly optimistic about the prospects of their British educational qualifications. Many of the boys strongly aspire to become pilots, lawyers and accountants. Some said that they plan to become managers of their own established businesses, after they graduate from university.

More importantly, educational qualification among Edinburgh's Pakistanis is considered a major criterion for a boy's civility and "culturedness"; and thus a measure of his social status in the community. As discussed in Chapter II, a Pakistani boy's social status is closely linked with the *izzet* (honour), of his family and kin.

His educational qualification adds to and becomes part of the collectively and dearly achieved *Izzet*, of his family and kin-group. Likewise, the extent of a Pakistani boy's family *Izzet* has a strong bearing upon the degree of his social status in the community and on his "self-perception".

Taking into account this interlinking between educational qualification and family *Izzet*, the latter was considered another indicator to "measure" commitment. Thus in operationalising commitment, educational success, higher educational aspirations and family *Izzet* were considered as indicators of the concept.

Commitment And Education

From the control theorist's perspective commitment to education means to have invested something in it: to be regularly present in a certain place for a certain period of time, to follow certain restricting rules and regulations, to learn the lessons as required, to take the trouble of doing homework after school, and finally to get good marks and succeed from grade to grade is an investment - an investment of time, energy and money in education. Thus the control theorist contends that the greater the adolescent's educational success the less likely he is to get involved in delinquent and deviant behaviour. This statement has been supported by numerous empirical studies. These studies found inverse relationship between educational success in school and lower levels of involvement in delinquency. (see Polk and Pink 1971; European committee on crime problems 1972; Hindelang 1973; Kelly and Pink 1973; West and Farrington 1977; Johnson 1979; Rutter and Giller 1983).

Delinquency researchers, by and large, have used young students' marks in school as the main criterion for ascertaining the level of their educational success. This criterion was also used, in the present study, for measuring the level of educational success of the Pilrig boys in their local schools. Thus the boys were asked:

"How were your marks in your class (in the local school), last year?

Did you get:"

"mostly A's", "mostly A's and B's", (scored 3 each category) "mostly B's", and "mostly B's and C's" (scored 2 each category) accounted for high marks. Response categories "mostly C's", "mostly C's and D's" (scored 1 each category) and "mostly D's" (scored 0) accounted for low marks in class.

Table 43 Relationship Between Marks in School and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Marks in the Local School		Row Total
	Low	High	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	0.00 (0)	100.00 (16)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	9.37 (3)	90.62 (29)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	14.29 (1)	85.71 (6)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	60.00 (3)	40.00 (2)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	11.67 (7)	88.33 (53)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.34 Sig. 0.002			

Table 43 shows a consistent picture of the relationship between the level of marks (in the local school) and the degree of deviation across the continuum from conformists to rebels. Among the non-deviant boys, all of the conformists and 90.62 per cent of the accommodationists said that they got high marks. Among the deviant boys, 85.71 per cent of the part-time conformists and only 40 per cent of the rebels said that they got high marks in the local school.

As the table shows the number of deviant boys who got high marks is not as small as it may be expected. But, compared with the number of non-deviant boys who got high marks, the difference is significant. This is revealed by a moderately strong inverse correlation (-.34) between the level of marks in school and the level of deviation.

Moreover, the table shows that an overwhelming majority (88.33%) of all the boys - deviant and non-deviant - got high marks in their local schools. This confirms the common view and official reports stating that "Asian students do well in school".

Apart from educational success as an indicator of commitment, aspirations for higher/professional education has a central place in its formation. As higher/professional education is often a necessary means to high-status occupational career, perceiving of and planning for such a career strengthen one's commitment to conventional goals. Indeed, the plans, ambitions and educational success of a striving and goal-oriented youngster are his psychological and social investments for the

future. Thus, it is the youngster with (anticipated) prospects of a future career who is going to be a loser by committing delinquent acts; not the youngster who sees his future as bleak and therefore has nothing, or little to lose by getting involved in delinquency. One control theorist contrasted his "law-abiding adolescent" from his "hoodlum" this way:

"He [the law-abiding adolescent] gets good marks; he moves easily from grade to grade. He has a basis for anticipating that this will continue until he completes college and takes up a business or professional career. If he applied his energies to burglary instead of homework, he would risk not only the ego-flattering rewards currently available but his future prospects as well" (Toby 1957:16)

Based on this line of reasoning and investigating, the hypothesis derived from Hirschi's version of Social Control Theory is that: The higher the student's aspirations for higher/professional education, the less likely he is to get involved in delinquency and deviance. To test this hypothesis the Pilrig boys were asked:

"what do you think about going to university (or other institutions of higher and professional education) after your secondary school?"
would you say that you:"

Response categories *"want and plan to go"* and *"want to go but I do not know if I will"* (scored 3 and 2 respectively) accounted for high aspirations, *"want to go but will probably not go"* and *"do not want to go and you are sure that you will not go"* (scored 1 and 0 respectively) accounted for low aspirations for higher/professional education.

Table 44 Relationship Between Aspiration for Higher/Professional Education and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Aspiration for Higher/Professional Education		Row Total
	Low	High	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	6.25 (1)	93.75 (15)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	21.87 (7)	78.12 (25)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	40.00 (2)	60.00 (3)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	21.67 (13)	78.33 (47)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.26 Sig. 0.01			

Results of the data in table 44 show that 93.75 per cent of the conformist and 78.12 per cent of the accommodationist boys expressed high aspirations for higher/professional education. Comparatively much smaller proportions of the part-time conformists (57.14%) and rebels (60%) had high aspirations for higher/professional education. The statistical test of correlation coefficient indicates a moderately strong inverse correlation (-0.26) between aspirations for higher/professional education and deviance.

Furthermore the data show that about four fifths (78.33%) of all the Pakistani boys in the sample expressed high aspirations for higher and professional education. This indicates that despite the generic feelings of pessimism about job prospects for members of ethnic communities in Scotland, young Pakistanis place strong emphasis on gaining higher educational qualifications. A Pakistani father of two Pilrig boys told me that "...in my experience it is very difficult for us to get good government jobs in this country, even if we have good qualifications. Don't you see many doctors and engineers working in shops? But, I don't mean, you know, that my sons should not go to university. Education is always good, always!". This view was widely shared by members of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, including the British-born youngsters (see Chapter I).

In any case, to turn again to the analysis of our hypothesis, it should be mentioned that it is supported by some other studies as well. These empirical studies found that greater delinquency was associated with lower educational/occupational aspirations (see Elliott 1962; Clark and Wenninger 1962; Gold 1963; Short 1964; Hindelang 1973, Johnson 1979).

To sum up briefly, it can be said that the lower their marks in school and the lower their aspirations for higher/professional education, the more deviant the Pilrig boys were. Put differently, educational success (high marks in school) and aspirations for higher education, significantly contributed towards controlling deviance among the Pilrig boys.

For all that, educational success and aspirations for higher/professional education are only two indicators of the concept of commitment. Family Izzet (Honour), was picked up as the third and most important indicator of commitment in the socio-cultural context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

Commitment And Family Izzet (Honour)

As mentioned in the introductory pages of this section, that educational success and qualifications among Edinburgh's Pakistanis, are not only considered as means for occupational careers. They also add to a Pakistani boy's social status in the community. But, the individual's social status in this community is closely linked with and is part and parcel of one's collectively achieved family *Izzet* or Honour. The social status of the individual and the social status of the group (family, kinship unit etc.) of which the individual is a member interact in, complex ways: On the one hand the individual's place in the community is defined by the level of his family *Izzet*. On the other hand individual achievements are as much a personal gain as they are a contribution to the collectively built family *Izzet* (see Chapter II).

Because of the close interaction between individual and collective social investments, the role of family *Izzet* is very significant in the formation of Pakistani youngsters' commitment to conventional lines of action. Thus, by being involved in delinquent/deviant behaviour, a Pakistani boy may not only endanger his own social status, but more importantly he might be inflicting irreparable damage on his family *Izzet*. The fear of harm to family *Izzet* in controlling "unconventional" behaviour is described in the following example: A.S. and R.M. are in their very early twenties. They come from Edinburgh's rich and respectable Pakistani families. Once, the two

young boys planned to go for a trip to the Scottish highlands with two local girls that they met in an Edinburgh club. The boys had the choice to drive any one of their families' three cars and a wagon. But the problem was how to drive to the highlands with the girls without being seen by anyone from their families and/or from the community. R.M. suggested that they could drive the wagon and draw its curtains so that no one could see who are inside. A.S. thought about this for a while. Then he said "but we never draw the curtains of the wagon. If anyone from my family or some friends see that, they will think that something is going on there". Then he disappointedly suggests to his friend "I think it is not worth it. If someone from the community sees us with the girls, they will talk to everybody about us; people will say look K's and A's (mentioning their father's last names) sons took girls to the highlands; *Izzet ki Bath Hi*, [this is a matter of (family) honour]". R.M. quietly agreed and the planned trip was cancelled. The above description, clearly indicates that *Izzet* is a powerful agent of social control in this small-scale society in Edinburgh.

As far as the quantification and measurement of family *Izzet* is concerned, there seems to be some methodological problems: Firstly, family *Izzet* is a complex variable that is comprised of various constituent elements i.e. caste, wealth, occupation, generosity and hospitality. These elements are then interconnected among themselves in intricate ways. This complexity of the nature of family *Izzet* makes it very difficult to be measured in a more or less objective way. Secondly, despite the quantifiable nature of the elements of family *Izzet*, its meaning for the individual is highly subjective. That is to say, family *Izzet*, on an individual level, is very much one's perception of his/her social standing as it is seen and evaluated by the community (see Part II, Chapter II).

Understanding the notion of *Izzet* and its socially constructed meaning in this way, the Pilrig boys were asked: "*How important is the idea of family Izzet (honour) to you personally?*"

would you say that it is:"

"extremely important" and *"fairly important"* (scored 3 and 2 respectively) accounted for much importance of family *Izzet*. Response categories *"not very important"* and *"unimportant"* (scored 1 and 0 respectively) accounted for little importance of family *Izzet*.

Table 45 Relationship Between Importance of Family *Izzet* and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Importance of Family <i>Izzet</i>		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	6.25 (2)	93.75 (30)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	00.00 (0)	100.00 (7)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	40.00 (2)	60.00 (3)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	21.67 (4)	78.33 (56)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.23 Sig. 0.02			

As expected, table 45 indicates that all of the conformist and 93.75 per cent of the accommodationist boys say that the idea of family *Izzet* is of much importance to them. Interestingly, all of the part-time conformists (a deviant category) also say that the idea of family *Izzet* is of much importance to them. This result may seem unexpected. But in fact, it partly explains why the part-time conformist boys hush up their deviation from their community's normative standards. Unlike the rebels, the fear of damaging their family *Izzet* is, probably in part, what has held the part-time conformists from openly declaring their deviance. Deviating from conventional norms and yet unable to break with their family and the community, the part-time conformists seem to be in difficult situation of "having the best of both worlds".

As far as the rebels (who openly declare their deviance) are concerned, a comparatively much smaller proportion (60%) of them say that the idea of family *Izzet* is of much importance to them. This result was very much expected. The statistical examination of the data in table 45 shows a moderately strong inverse relationship (-0.23) between the importance of family *Izzet* and the level of deviance.

Moreover, the data confirms that family *Izzet* is a strongly established idea among Pakistanis in Edinburgh: 93.33 per cent of all the boys in the sample say that the idea of family *Izzet* is of much importance to them.

To conclude, it may be said that after operationalising commitment in the socio-cultural context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, it was found that all of its three indicators were related to conformity and deviance. The statistical tests of correlation coefficient indicated that there were moderately strong relationship between each of educational success, aspiration for higher/professional education, family *Izzet*, and the level of deviance. However, the relationship between educational success and the level of deviance were slightly stronger as compared to those between each of aspiration for higher/professional education, and family *Izzet* and the dependent variable. Thus the findings of the present study confirm the assumption of social control theorist that deviants/delinquents are people with little (or nothing) to lose; because of their low commitment to conventional line of action (educational success etc.) they are, already losers!

Moreover, the overwhelming majority (88.33%) of all the boys in the sample of the present study said that they got high marks in their schools last year. About three fourths (78.33%) of the boys expressed high aspiration for higher/professional education. And finally, a very large majority (93.33%) of the boys said that the idea of family *Izzet* was of much importance to them.

Involvement

In Hirschi's formulation of social control theory involvement is the behavioural counterpart of commitment. Initially, involvement refers to practical engagement in legitimate activities - the extent to which the individual is bound to formal working hours, deadlines, appointments and to informal obligations and responsibilities in the family, community and in the wider society. He/she is too busy to deviate, as Hirschi put it:

".....that a person may be simply too busy doing conventional things to find time to engage in deviant behaviour. The person involved in conventional activities is tied to appointments, deadlines, working hours, plans and the like, so the opportunity to commit deviant acts rarely arises. To the extent that he is engrossed in conventional activities, he cannot even think about deviant acts, let alone act out his inclinations".
(Hirschi 1969:22)

It can be clearly noticed that the central point in the above quoted passage is that the engrossment of individual in doing legitimate things is very likely to inhibit his/her deviation. For example, an adolescent who spends most of his/her working day at the school; then does his/her homework at home or in the library; in the afternoon he/she takes part in sports and other (legitimate) recreational activities; after evening meal with the family he/she might have a chat with parents, watch television or read a novel/comic book; and then it is the time for rest/sleep. If the weekend is also occupied by visiting a family-friend/relative, playing a match or watching a film, then this adolescent, apparently, has no (or little) time for deviation/delinquency; He/she is " kept busy" .

The idea that "keeping youths busy" (through recreation, work and other conventional activities) inhibits delinquency has been influential in criminological thinking for a long time. For example one prominent criminologist wrote:

"In the general area of juvenile delinquency it is probable that the most significant difference between juveniles who engage in delinquency and those who do not is that the latter are provided abundant opportunities of a conventional type for satisfying their recreational interests while the former lack those opportunities or facilities". (Sutherland 1956:37)

Likewise more practically oriented approaches to the problem of delinquency followed a very similar line of thinking:

"...if I were forced to select a single approach that struck me in my travels as coming closer to a whole solution (to the problem of delinquency) than any other, it could be summed up in the four letter word (work)." (Tunley 1962:258)

In fact, these ideas have been translated to policy-making in the general area of delinquency-prevention programmes, to varying degrees. Getting youngsters involved in education, employment, recreation and the like have been a central theme behind many projects for the prevention of delinquency, in the UK and in the USA. An example of such projects is the New York-based "Mobilisation for Youth Project (MFY). The proposal for this project said: "in summary, it is our belief that most delinquent behaviour is engendered because opportunities for conformity are limited" (MFY proposal, quoted in Downes and Rock 1982:233). Thus, the MFY project was designed to provide jobs, educational opportunities for youngsters and to get them involved in the community organisation (see Hagan 1987:312).

It appears from what has been said up to this point that involvement in anything conventional or legitimate inhibits delinquency. But does it?

Surprisingly, no, according to Hirschi's data. Hirschi's findings (1969:190, foot note 7) showed that measures of time spent on watching television, reading comic books and playing games were even positively related to the commission of delinquent acts (though the relationships were very weak). These results forced Hirschi to admit the flaws of what he previously hypothesised:

"What tricked us into rather naïve acceptance of a straightforward involvement hypothesis....is the idea that "delinquency" is a more or less full-time job, a common enough idea in delinquency theory but highly inappropriate when applied to an explanation of delinquent acts. Most "conventional" activities are neutral with respect to delinquency; they neither inhibit nor promote it" (Hirschi 1969:190)

So, if most conventional activities are neutral with regard to delinquency, then involvement in what kind of conventional activities inhibit it? Hirschi's findings (1969:194-96) showed that time spent on homework and on other school-related activities such as projects, assignments and the like were negatively related to the commission of delinquent acts (these relationships were generally strong). The amount of time spent on homework was, particularly, crucial with respect to inhibiting delinquency. Not only because homework as a relatively "recurring obligation" restricted boys from engagement in activities that are conducive to delinquency such as "killing time" with friends, going to pubs and riding around in a car. But, more importantly, spending time on homework and on other school-related activities, Hirschi (1969:192) says "....effects student's performance in school, and may thus operate on delinquency through its effects on attachment and commitment to the school". That is to say that involvement in those conventional activities is most likely to be inhibitive of delinquency that contribute towards strengthening one's social bond to the conventional order of society - not all conventional activities, that are, merely, time-consuming. I shall refer to involvement, in this new sense, as inhibitive involvement.

For the Pilrig boys there is a wide range of conventional activities that appear to be directly contributing towards the strengthening of their social bond to the normative order of their community. Apart from homework and other school-related activities, the Pilrig mosque/community centre provides numerous educational, religio-

cultural, social and (sometimes) recreational opportunities and events both for its young and older members. These events and opportunities range from gathering for daily (five times) weekly (*Jom'a*) and annual prayers of the two *Eids* (Islamic festivals) to the collective celebration of many other social and religious occasions. Moreover, sometimes specific recreational events are organised by the mosque/community centre in city halls in Edinburgh (see part II of Chapter three for details). The degree of social and/or religious obligation of taking part in these events may vary from one to another, but almost none of these events are "neutral" with respect to deviation from the community's normative order. The spiritual and cultural socialisation of the younger members of the community to its moral and normative order is particularly targeted in these events.

Thus in the context of the present study the operationalisation of involvement in **inhibitive** conventional activities did not confine only to time spent on homework, as Hirschi and many other delinquency researchers did. Participation of the mosque/community centre was considered as the second indicator of involvement in conventional activities that are inhibitive of deviance/delinquency. Moreover, the feeling of "nothing to do" was added to the two indicators of involvement. Strictly speaking, this variable was not considered as an indicator of involvement in inhibitive conventional activities. Rather the purpose was to know how the abundance of unutilised leisure time for youngsters is related (if at all) to conformity and deviance. So the data produced by asking this question has no implications for testing the involvement hypothesis and therefore for social control theory. But, first, it seems important to examine the relationship between the amount of the time spent on school-related activities (homework) and the level of deviance.

Involvement In School-Related Activities

As mentioned previously the Pilrig boys attend two schools - the Mosque school and the local Scottish schools. The mosque school, which mainly aims at the religio-cultural socialisation of the younger members of Edinburgh's Pakistani (Muslim) community, has an informal social organisation. Despite its strict (but ineffective) educational/disciplinary regime in the "classroom" the school does not assign its students any homework. But, the local Scottish schools, in general, require homework regularly. Most of the Pilrig boys said that their teacher in the local schools frequently assigned them projects, drawings, solution of problems etc. The boys called all these home-based school - assignments as homework. Thus, against this background of their school-related activities the Pilrig boys were asked:

"On average, how long each day do you spend on your homework, outside school?"
 Do you think that you spend:

"more than four hours" and "about two hours" (scored 3 and 2 respectively) accounted for much time spent on homework, "less than an hour" and "you are hardly given any homework" (scored 1 and 0 respectively) accounted for little time spent on homework.

Table 46 Relationship Between Time Spent on Homework and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Time Spent on Homework		Row Total
	Little	Much	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	56.25 (9)	43.75 (7)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	65.62 (21)	34.37 (11)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	85.71 (6)	14.29 (1)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	80.00 (4)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	66.67 (40)	33.33 (20)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.17 Sig. 0.07 (Recalculated Tau b = -0.22 Sig. 0.03			

Table 46 indicates that much less than half (43.75%) of the Conformist and about a third (34.37%) of the Accommodationist boys say that they spend much time on their homework, daily. But among the deviant categories of the boys only about one sixth (14.29%) of the Part-time Conformists and one fifth of the Rebels say that they, daily, spend much time on their homework.

Despite the fact that the majority of the Pilrig boys in all four categories spend little time on their homework, the number of non-deviant boys who spend much time on their homework is larger as compared with the deviant boys. However, the statistical calculation of these data does not show strong inverse (-0.17) relationship between the amount of time spent on homework and the level of deviance.

These results not only do not support the (inhibitive) involvement hypothesis, they, meanwhile, raise an important question: the fact that only one third of all the Pilrig boys (deviants and non-deviants) spend much time on their homework, daily, casts doubt on the essence of the inhibitive involvement according to which it operates on delinquency through attachment and commitment to school. In other words according to the hypothesis of inhibitive involvement the boys who are highly attached and committed to school are also expected to spend much time on their homework. But, the findings of the present study revealed (see Chapter V and the first part of this Chapter) that much larger proportions of the Pilrig boys were highly attached and committed to school compared to those who spent much time on their homework, (one third). The link between time spent on homework and attachment and commitment is apparently not existing.

A most likely answer to resolve this apparent contradiction seems to be hidden in present data themselves: after a careful look into the data, table 46 reveals that 13 out of 60 respondents say that they "were hardly given any homework" (see scoring sheet, column 25: app.....). Most of these 13 boys who were in their early years of primary schools, did revise their lessons at home under their parents' supervision. But they did not call this "homework" because it was not assigned by their teachers. Importantly all these boys fall in the non-deviant categories.

This second look into the data indicates that much more than half of the (55%) Pilrig boys spent much time, daily, on their homework. The statistical recalculation of the data shows strong correlation (-0.22) between the amount of time spent and the level of deviance. This new picture of the data is consistent with the previous findings about the attachment and commitment of the Pilrig boys to school. Thus "inhibitive" involvement probably does operate through its effects on attachment and commitment to school as Hirschi suggested.

In any case, so far as it relates to the social world of the Pilrig boys, homework is only one side of the involvement that it inhibits delinquency/deviance; its other side is participation in the mosque/community-related activities.

Involvement In Mosque/Community-Related Activities

It was mentioned in the first part of this chapter (and described in detail in part II of Chapter III) that the "Pilrig mosque/community centre" provides a wide range of educational, social, religio-cultural and recreational activities for its members. It was also mentioned that a special emphasis is placed on the participation of youngsters in these social activities so that they are more "adequately" socialised to the conventional order of their community - the small-scale society in the wider Scottish/British society. However, since involvement in Islamic educational activities or *sabaq* (attendance of the mosque-school) has already been discussed in Chapter V, the data in this section relate to participation in the social, religio-cultural and recreational activities in the mosque/community centre. Thus, the Pilrig boys were asked:

"Other than for your 'sabaq', how often do you go to the mosque (for praying and/or other gatherings)? would you say":

"More than once a week" and *"only for jom'a prayer"* (scored 3 and 2 respectively) accounted for more frequent participation in the mosque/community - related activities. *"only for some major occasions"* (such as *Eids*, *Milad-un-nabi* etc.) and *"I hardly every go"* (scored 1 and 0 respectively) accounted for less frequent participation.

Table 47 Relationship Between Participation in the Mosque/Community-related Activities and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Participation in the Mosque/community-Related Activities		Row Total
	Less Frequent	More Frequent	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	18.75 (3)	81.25 (13)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	40.62 (13)	59.37 (19)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	42.86 (3)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	100.00 (5)	00.00 (0)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	41.67 (25)	58.33 (35)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.37 Sig. 0.001			

According to table 47 about four fifths (81.25%) of the Conformist and about two thirds (59.37%) of the Accommodationist boys say that they participated in the mosque/community - related activities, more frequently. Among the deviant categories of the boys only about two fifths (42.86%) of the part-time conformists and no one of the Rebels participated, more frequently, in the mosque/community - related activities.

These results show marked differences between the deviant and the non-deviant categories of the Pilrig boys with respect to the degree of their participation in the activities of the mosque/community centre. Moreover there is a very strong inverse relationship (-0.37) between the frequency of participation in the activities of the mosque/community centre and the degree of deviance. Put differently, the more frequently the Pilrig boys participated in their community's social, cultural and religious life, the less they deviated from its norms. These findings strongly support the control theorist's position that involvement in those legitimate activities that strengthen one's social bond to the conventional order of community/society contributes towards controlling deviance/delinquency. Furthermore, the overall picture of table 47 shows that about two thirds (58.33%) of all the Pilrig boys say that they participate more frequently in the mosque/community - related activities.

Up to this point, it has been noticed that 55 percent of all the Pilrig boys spend much time on their homework, and almost two thirds (58.33%) of them participated, more frequently, in the social, religious and cultural life of their community. Now, the issue is that those of the Pilrig boys who do not spend much time on their homework and do not participate more frequently in the social, cultural and religious life of their community may not have other "meaningful" ways to occupy their leisure-time. They may, therefore, look for "something to do"; "something exciting" that may include involvement in deviance/delinquency. Hirschi's findings (1969:193) showed that the feeling of "nothing to do" (or feeling of boredom) were positively related to the commission of delinquent acts. That is to say that the more often the boy in Hirschi's study felt that "there is nothing to do" the more likely he was to commit delinquent acts. Is this true in the case of the Pilrig boys? To try to answer this question, the Pilrig boys were asked:

"How often do you feel that there is nothing to do"?
"would you say":

"often" and *"sometimes"* (scored 0 and 1 respectively) accounted for more frequent feeling of 'nothing to do', whereas *"rarely"* and *"never"* (scored 2 and 3 respectively) accounted for less frequent such feeling.

Table 48 Relationship Between the Feeling of "Nothing to do" and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Feeling of "Nothing to do"		Row Total
	Less Frequent	More Frequent	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	37.50 (6)	62.50 (10)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	43.75 (14)	56.25 (18)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	80.00 (4)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	45.00 (27)	55.00 (33)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = 0.14 Sig. 0.12			

Surprisingly, the present data indicate that more boys among the non-deviant categories said that they feel, more frequently, that "there is nothing to do" as compared to the deviant boys. As can be seen in table 48 that more than two thirds (62.25%) of the Conformist and a majority (56.25%) of the Accommodationist boys say that they, more frequently, feel that "there is nothing to do". Though a majority (57.14%) of the Part-time conformists also say that they, more frequently, feel that there is nothing to do, but only one fifth of the Rebels say so. These results do not, apparently, confirm Hirschi's finding (1969:193) according to which the feelings of "nothing to do" were inversely related to the commission of delinquent acts. Instead, the results of the present data tend to show a positive but weak (0.14) relationship between the frequency of the feeling of "nothing to do" and the level of deviance.

The findings of the present study tend to suggest that those of the Pilrig boys who do not spend much time on their homework and do not often participate in the community's social, cultural and religious life have alternative ways of occupying their leisure-time. But these alternative ways, may include involvement in "non - legitimate" activities. In fact, some of the deviant boys, particularly the rebels, spent their leisure time in night clubs and *Bhangras*, as part-time workers. These boys obviously have "something to do" and they might have been "having a good time". But, working in a night club and *Bhangra* for a member of Edinburgh's Pakistani community is considered as an undesirable and "deviant".

To conclude, the findings of the present study, generally, support the control theorist's assumption that involvement in legitimate activities (those that strengthens one's social bond to the conventional order) contribute towards controlling deviance/delinquency. Operationalised in the context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, both of the two indicators of (inhibitive) involvement - time spent on homework and participation in the activities of the mosque/community centre were, inversely related to the level of deviance. However, the relationship between the latter variable to the level of deviance is stronger than that of the former.

Furthermore, the present findings show that 55 percent of all the Pilrig boys spent much time, daily, on their homework, whereas 58.33 percent of them participated more frequently in the activities of the mosque/community centre.

Surprisingly, the present findings did not support what Hirschi's findings of a negative relationship between the feeling of "nothing to do" (feeling of boredom) and the commission of delinquent acts. Interpreting this discrepancy between the present and Hirschi's findings, it was suggested that some of the deviant Pilrig boys who did not occupy their leisure time by "meaningful" ways (homework and participation in the activities of the mosque/community centre) had alternative ways of "something to do". These alternative ways tended to be "deviant" on the community's standards.

Belief

The fourth and the last element of social bond in Hirschi's social control theory (1969) is belief. It refers to the "moral validity" or "legitimacy" of the conventional norms and rules of society - the extent to which individuals feel moral obligation to obey the rules of society.

Individuals may obey society's norms and rules out of their religious convictions - because these rules/norms originate from divine teachings and orders. Or alternatively, they may obey the rules and norms of society because doing so is "right", "fair" and "legitimate". Whatever the source of individuals' belief - religious, secular or both - the main point is about the extent to which they accept the idea that the rules of society should be obeyed.

The phrase "the rules of society" implies that the control theorist assumes the existence of a common value system in society. Indeed, this is one of the main assumptions on which control theory is based. The control theorist assumes that almost all members of a society share, at least, the fundamental societal values whose observance is essential for the maintenance of social order and for the mere survival of the society. (see details of the controversy on this issue in app.....p.....). It is the acceptance of this shared morality by members of a society that is termed belief in the presently dominant version of social control theory. However, the control theorist's assumption about the existence of a common value system or a normative order in society raises an important question when he proceeds to explain deviation from societal norms/rules: If almost all members of the society - the law-abiding and the violator - believe that violating society's rules is wrong, then how come that one violates them and the other does not?

More than a decade before the emergence of the presently dominant version of social control theory, Sykes and Matza, who also assume the existence of a shared morality in a society (see for the details of this point Chan 1981:120 and Vold and Bernard 1986:242) attempted to answer this question. The delinquent while believing in the conventional rules of society, Sykes and Matza (1957:464-70) say, neutralises "the internal and external demands for conformity". Through the "techniques of neutralisation" (denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, the condemnation of accusers, and appeal to higher loyalties) he/she creates a "moral vacuum" - a situational and temporary freedom from moral obstacles to the violation of rules.

However, the advocates of the recent and dominant version of social control theory are not very impressed by this answer. Their complaint is that the answer contains a motivational element which comes, particularly, to the surface when this issue is later dealt with by Matza. In his *Delinquency and Drift*, Matza (1964) says that the mood of "desperation" and the "will to delinquency" that motivate the potential delinquent to "make things happen" takes place after the "moral vacuum" has been created. In other words Matza contends that a special motivational force pushes the potential delinquent into delinquency. But in the logic of control theory, no special motivation is needed for the potential delinquent in order to break the rules. (see app....p....). A better answer and the one consistent with the implicit logic a control theory, to the question in point, therefore, is that:

"...There is *variation* in the extent to which people believe they should obey the rules of society and, furthermore, that the less a person believes he should obey the rules, the more likely he is to violate them".(original emphasis) (Hirschi 1969:26)

Thus, neutralisation is unnecessary, because weak belief (or the absence of belief) means that neutralisation has already occurred. In fact, there is not an essential difference in Hirschi's and Sykes and Matza's positions. Weak belief and temporarily neutralised belief can both result in "moral holidays" - situational violation of rules without completely abandoning the belief. However, the strength of Hirschi's position is that it is more consistent with the basic assumptions of control theory with which Sykes and Matza and Matza's later works (1964) are also identified.

To leave theoretical issues aside, researchers have found it very difficult to directly measure individuals' inner religious and moral beliefs. Nevertheless, they have attempted to measure individuals' attitudes towards certain religious and moral

issues which, in turn, are considered as indicators of their beliefs. There have been many empirical studies that have explored the relationship between religious and/or moral beliefs (or attitudes) and delinquency. For example some studies found that rejection of religious values was positively related to delinquency (Clayton 1969; Burket and White 1974; Cochran and Akers 1989). Other studies reported that acceptance of moral values and respect for law and the police were inversely related to delinquency (Hirschi and Stark 1969; Waldo and Hall 1970; and Burket and White 1974). Some other studies focused on exploring the relationship between belief and obeying rules. For example a more recent empirical study "why people obey the law" has reached the following conclusion:

"People obey the law because they believe that it is proper to do so...their responsiveness leads people to evaluate laws and the decisions of legal authorities in normative terms, obeying the law if it is legitimate and moral and accepting decisions if they are fairly arrived at". (emphasis added) (Tyler 1990:178)

More common sense examples of the connectedness between the moral validity and legitimacy of rules/norms and obeying them can be found on a broader societal level. One such example can be the implementation of the Poll Tax (community charge) in Scotland (during the years 1989-92). About 50 percent of the people in Scotland did not obey the rules about paying the Poll Tax, why? Of course, it is naïve to try to find only one straightforward answer to such a complex question with many social and political dimensions. Nevertheless there is much reason to say that a major factor in the disobedience over the Poll Tax regulation was due to its perceived lack of moral validity and legitimacy. This was because of, at least, two major reasons:

First, how can a "welfare state" require those citizens (and residents) of the country who live on the poverty line to pay a tax that they can not afford to pay? The state requires both the rich and the poor to pay the Poll Tax (though a reduced amount of tax for the poor). People who can not afford to pay the Poll Tax are very likely to find these rules unfair and therefore will not feel a moral obligation to obey them.

Secondly, the regulation about the Poll Tax does not reflect the social and political consensus that is supposed to constitute the basis of legitimacy of rules in a democratic society. Apart from the fact that the Conservative government in the UK does not represent the majority of the people in Scotland, it is an open secret that the government itself did not reach a consensus on the existing form of the regulation

about the Poll Tax. (The dramatic downfall of Mrs Thatcher is widely attributed to her insistence on making this unpopular decision, and hence a political mistake). Therefore, the rules about the Poll Tax did not enjoy a full legitimacy, not only for the Scots, but also for many citizens of the UK. The massive and violent anti-Poll Tax rallies in London and Glasgow were strong social indicators of this. More interestingly, Mr T.Sheridan the leader of the anti-Poll Tax movement in Scotland was elected as a councillor while still in prison!

This is not the place to go into further details of the relationships between belief and its broader socio-legal and political dimensions. Now, it is important to focus on the analysis of the normative context of belief in Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

The Normative Context Of Belief In The Present Study

Before looking at the relationship between belief and the level of deviance in the Pilrig sample of the 60 Muslim Pakistani boys, it is important, first, to answer the question: Belief in what?; in the norms/rules of the Muslim Pakistani community or in those of the wider Scottish/British society?

There does not seem to be a "black or white" or "one or the other" answer to this question, as it may be thought. It is true as it has been argued in Chapter I that Edinburgh's Pakistani community is, in many respects, a small-scale society within the larger Scottish/British society. With the passage of time the community has developed its own unique social, cultural, religious, quasi-political, economic and recreational institutions that meet the various needs of the members of the community in a more or less sustained manner. As a Muslim community in a non-Muslim society the religious institution, the Mosque, has a dominant role in the general life of the community. Islamic teachings guide the social institutional life of the community and are supposed to be followed by individual members of the community. This has brought about a broad normative consensus and shared morality in the community. That is to say that Islamic teachings, generally, constitute the basis of "rights" and "wrongs" in the community (see Chapter III)

Nevertheless, what has been said neither means that this community is a holy community of God's men and women, nor does it mean that most of its "wrongs" and "rights" essentially contradict the norms and values of the wider Scottish/British society. This is particularly true with regard to those norms and values that are relevant to the Scottish/British criminal law. The present discussion is not the place

to go into the details of this issue. It may be sufficient to say that on the one hand theft, murder, child-abuse and many other crimes are considered serious "wrongs", in the community, as they are so considered in the wider society. On the other hand honesty good -neighbourliness, helping the poor, the elderly and the disabled that are positively sanctioned in the Scottish/British society are among the "rights" of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. There are other issues on which the community takes a compromising stand: Neither is it easy to find a man with more than one wife in the community nor is a Pakistani user of alcohol punished by lashes, and adulterer stoned to death (though these behaviours are strongly disapproved of as mentioned in Chapter III and IV).

In sum the Edinburgh Pakistani community, on the one hand, has cultural and religious values that are specific to it. On the other hand the community shares most of the values of the larger Scottish/British society, particularly those relevant to the criminal law. Thus a fruitful enquiry into the relationship between belief and conformity and deviance in Edinburgh's Pakistani community must take into account this complex nature of normative order of the community.

Operationalising belief in this multi-dimensional social and normative context will have to, first of all, take into consideration the Islamic dimension. Thus the extent to follow Islamic teaching, was considered as the first indicator of belief in the moral validity of rules/norms. "Honesty with all people" was selected as the second indicator of belief in the moral validity of rules/norms. "Honesty with all people" is not only one of the core Islamic values, it is also central to the Christian values and to secular morality. Finally feelings of guilt - the social-psychological manifestation of the presence of belief - after breaking-rules was considered as the third indicator of belief in the moral validity of rules/norms. Let us first analyse the relationship between belief in Islamic teachings and the level of deviance.

Belief And Islamic Teachings

As mentioned earlier, Islamic teachings constitute the basis of normative order in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Islamic teachings cover a wide range of issues related to "rights" and "wrongs" that come under the general categories of *Awamir and Nawahi* (obligations and prohibitions) on both private/individual and on public/social levels. On the private/individual level these teachings include matters ranging from basic Islamic virtues such as generosity, modesty, chastity, perseverance, courage, manners in clothing, greetings, talking, walking, and to

drinking and eating. On social and broader public level Islamic teachings have specific sets of rules for social institutional life in the spheres of family, government, economy and even on issues related to interfaith and international relations.

However, there exists a more or less clear-cut dichotomy of Islamic teachings according to the degree of their obligation to the Muslim believer. *Fardz* and *Vajib* include duties of the highest degree of obligation. *Sunnah* are in the second and *Mustahab* are in the third and the lowest degree of obligation. There are other local/cultural rituals which are also mixed (and confused) with Islamic teachings and possess a degree of obligation. All these four levels of Islamic teachings involve duties or obligations. There are others that involve prohibitions. But since omission of many of the obligations naturally become and fall to a level of prohibition it seems sufficient to mention the obligatory Islamic teachings for the present purpose.

Now, the crucial question for Edinburgh's Muslims' and probably for Muslims throughout Britain is that: How much of the Islamic teachings can Muslims afford to follow in this country? Answers of different Muslim individuals and groups vary according to the extent they find Islamic teachings relevant to their daily lives and therefore according to their interpretation of them. This is, probably, a major reason for the existence of extremist, moderate, liberals/seculars (cultural Islam) tendencies in the following of Islamic teaching in the UK. It was this socio-religious context in which the Pilgrig boys were asked:

"How much of the Islamic teachings do you think we should follow in our daily lives in this country? would you say that:"

"All Islamic teachings from A to Z (Fardz, vajib, Sunnah and Mustahab)" and "the major Islamic teachings (Fardz and vajib)" (scored 3 and 2 respectively) accounted for a greater extent of following the Islamic teachings. "Only those of the Islamic teachings that involve rituals and ceremonies (which are part of our cultural identity such as ceremonies of Eids, marriage, funeral, etc.)". and "it is no longer necessary for us to follow Islamic teachings" (scored 1 and 0 respectively) accounted for a lesser extent of following the Islamic teachings.

Table 49 Relationship Between the Extent of Following Islamic Teachings and the Level of Deviance

Typology	The Extent of Following Islamic Teachings		Row Total
	Lesser Extent	Greater Extent	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	00.00 (0)	100.00 (16)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	3.12 (1)	96.87 (31)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	80.00 (4)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	13.33 (8)	86.67 (52)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.51 Sig. 0.000			

Table 49 indicates that all the conformists and 96.87 percent of the accommodationist boys say that we (Muslims in Edinburgh) should follow Islamic teaching to a greater extent, in our daily lives. However, among the deviant boys, less than three fifths (57.14%) of the part-time conformists and only one fifth of the rebels say that we should follow Islamic teachings to a greater extent, in our daily lives. The statistical test of the data shows that there is a very strong inverse relationship (-0.51) between the extent to follow Islamic teachings and the level of deviance. These results strongly support the control theorist's assumption that the less one believes in the rules/norms of society, the more likely he/she is to violate them.

Moreover, an overwhelming majority (86.67%) of the Pilrig boys say that we (Muslims in Edinburgh) should follow Islamic teachings to a greater extent, in our daily lives. Only 13.33 percent of the boys say that we should follow Islamic teachings to a lesser extent. More importantly according to the present data none of the Pilrig boys say that "it is no longer necessary for us to follow Islamic teachings". Nevertheless, significant proportions among the deviant boys are in favour of following the cultural/ceremonial aspect of Islamic teachings (not those aspects that relate to prohibitions and obligations); 42.86 percent of the part-time conformists and 80 percent of the rebels say that we should follow "only those of the Islamic

teachings that involve rituals and ceremonies" (see column 44 of the "scoring sheet" (pp 310 - 311)).

This observation, furthermore, reveals that even the deviant boys, particularly the rebels see at least some aspects of Islamic teachings as relevant to the social and cultural life of their community. The deviant boys seem to recognise that the ceremonial aspects of Islam define and draw the social boundaries of Edinburgh's Pakistani community - a small scale "closed" society within the wider society. This would seem to indicate that despite their deviation from the community's fundamental moral values, they feel the need for a kind of cultural/social belonging to the Pakistani community in Edinburgh. At this point it seems appropriate and necessary to expand the present analysis, and have a look at the relationship between the general moral values of society and deviance.

Belief And The Moral Values Of Society

It was mentioned earlier that belief in the context of social control theory does not have to have its source in religious teachings and convictions. Belief in society's rules/norms may as often originate from religious convictions as from secular moral values or from both. Thus the important point in this respect is the extent of individuals' moral obligation to abide by certain accepted sets of norms and values of society, whatever the source of the obligation may be. For example a devout believer in Christian, Islamic or Jewish teachings may not steal because stealing is prohibited by God. Similarly a non-religious member of society may refrain from stealing but for a different reason: It is "wrong" to steal - it is against the accepted social and moral values of society, and against its laws.

One of the general moral and social values that seems to be shared by followers of different religions and by non-religious members of British society is "honesty with all people". Taking into account this general social/moral context of British society the British-born Pakistani boys in Pilrig were asked:

"To what extent do you agree with the statement: "one must be honest with all people". Do you: "strongly agree" and "agree" (score 3 and 2 respectively) accounted for a greater extent of agreement with the statement "one must be honest with all people". Response categories "disagree" and "strongly disagree" (scored 1 and 0 respectively) accounted for a lesser extent of agreement with the statement.

Table 50 Relationship Between the Extent of Agreement with "One must be honest with all people" and the Level of Deviance

Typology	The Extent of Agreement with "One must be honest with all people"		Row Total
	Lesser Extent	Greater Extent	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	100.00 (0)	100.00 (16)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	3.12 (1)	96.87 (31)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	42.86 (3)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	80.00 (4)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	13.33 (8)	86.67 (52)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.51 Sig. 0.000			

Interestingly enough, Table 50 indicates that exactly the same proportion of the conformist and accommodationists boys (100% and 96.87% respectively) who said that we should follow Islamic teachings to a greater extent, also say that they agree with "one must always be honest with all people", to a greater extent. Likewise, exactly the same (smaller) proportions of the part-time conformists and rebels (57.14% and 20% respectively) who said that they should obey Islamic teachings to a greater extent also say that they agree with the statement "one must be always honest with all people", to a greater extent.

The perfect consistency between the two sets of data (Table 50 and Table 51) may be indicating that positive attitudes toward or/and belief in religious teachings positively influence one's attitudes toward moral values. This seems to be more likely to occur when religious teachings are in agreement with the generally accepted societal values, as in the present case.

The existence of a very strong inverse relationship (-0.51) between the extent of agreement with "one must be honest with all people" and the level of deviance strongly support the control theorist's assumption: the less one believes that he/she obey the rules/norms of society, the more likely he/she is to violate them.

As mentioned earlier that because of the difficulty (even impossibility) of direct measurement of individuals' inner beliefs in religious or/and moral values, researchers in this area have attempted to measure individuals' attitudes towards these issues. The evaluation and measurement of individuals' attitudes have been considered as indications of individuals' inner orientations and beliefs in religious and moral values. Following this research pattern, the data that have been analysed up to this point were based on questions that were designed to measure attitudes towards Islamic teaching and the moral values of British society. However, the next question is designed to attempt to measure the extent of the presence or absence of belief in an indirect way - the extent to which individuals feel guilty after behaving dishonestly with people. Thus, the Pilrig boys were asked:

"How guilty do you feel when you do some dishonesty, even to a stranger?"

"Extremely guilty" and *"Quite guilty"* (scored 3 and 2) accounted for more feeling of guilt, whereas *"not very guilty"* and *"not guilty at all"* (scored 1 and 0) accounted for less feeling of guilt.

Table 51 Relationship Between Feeling of Guilt and the Level of Deviance

Typology	Feeling of Guilt		Row Total
	Less	More	
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Conformists	6.25 (1)	93.75 (15)	100.00 (16)
Accommodationists	9.37 (3)	90.62 (29)	100.00 (32)
P.T. Conformists	57.14 (4)	42.86 (3)	100.00 (7)
Rebels	40.00 (2)	60.00 (3)	100.00 (5)
Column Total	16.67 (10)	83.33 (50)	100.00 (60)
Tau b = -0.33 Sig. 0.003			

According to Table 51 the overwhelming majorities of the conformist and the accommodationist boys (93.75% and 90.62%, respectively) said that they feel more guilty after doing some dishonesty to people. Among the deviant categories of the boys, comparatively smaller proportions of the part-time conformists and the rebels

(44.86% and 60%, respectively) say that they feel more guilty after behaving dishonestly. The comparison of the above results to those in Tables 49 and 50 reveals that the more positive the attitudes of the Pilrig boys toward Islamic teachings and toward the general moral values of British society, the more guilty they feel after doing some dishonesty to other people. This indicates that the attitudes of the Pilrig boys toward Islamic teachings and to the moral values of British society represent their beliefs in these teachings and values. This may be because feelings of guilt normally result after the "betrayal" of pre-existing internalised beliefs and moral principles.

Finally, the fact that a much larger proportion of the non-deviant boys, in the present study, feel more guilty than the deviant boys (after behaving dishonestly) should not imply that many of the latter category of the boys have no sense of guilt at all. On the contrary, all but one of the thirteen deviant boys - part-time conformists and rebels - said that they do feel guilty after doing some dishonesty to people - though to a lesser extent. (see column 46 of the scoring sheet, app...) This result confirms what Sykes and Matza (1957: 464 - 665) said that "many delinquents do experience a sense of guilt". It moreover favours the control theorist's position that the core moral and social values are shared by almost all members of society, including those who violate them.

To sum up, it may be said that after operationalising belief in the context of the multi-dimensional normative order of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, it was found: the less positive the Pilrig boys attitudes towards (or the less they believed in) Islamic teachings and the moral principle of "honesty with all people", the more they deviated from the norms of their community. Likewise, the less these boys felt guilty after doing some dishonesty to people, the more deviant they were. All the three independent variables - the extent to follow Islamic teachings; the extent of agreement with "one must be honest with all people"; and feeling of guilt after doing some dishonesty to people, were very strongly related to the level of deviance (though the correlation between last indicator of belief and deviance was moderately strong). These results strongly support the assumption of Hirschi's control theory that the less a person believes he should obey the rules/norms of society, the more likely he is to violate them.

Moreover the findings showed that 86.67 percent of all the Pilrig boys said that we (Muslims in Edinburgh) follow Islamic teachings to a greater extent, whereas, only 13.33 percent said that Islamic teachings should be followed to a lesser extent, by us.

But no one said that "it is no longer necessary for us to follow Islamic teachings". Likewise, 86.67 percent of all the Pilrig boys agreed with "one must be honest with all people", whereas, only 13.33 percent agreed with the statement to a lesser extent. Finally, 83.33 percent of these boys said that they felt more guilty after doing some dishonesty with people. However 16.67 percent of the boys said that they felt less guilty after behaving dishonestly with people.

Summaries and Conclusions

This thesis began with a general examination of the historical development of the Pakistani community in Scotland and in Edinburgh. Within a broad historical and social/structural context, the examination more specifically focused on the social organisation of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, on the analysis of its social and moral order, and the ways members related to it and conformed to or deviated from its demands. In sociological terms the analysis centred on two fundamental aspects of the social organisation of the community – social control and social deviance. Though social control and deviance constitute two separate parts of the thesis it is argued that the two are closely interlinked in the present study: on the one hand, the various agencies of social control draws the boundaries of the moral and social order of the community; they define what is deviance and specify how it should be responded to. On the other, deviance alerts the agencies of social control to the "dangers" posed to the existing moral and social order, and activates its controlling mechanisms; deviance also contributes to the redefinition of deviance and stimulates social change in the community.

One of the central arguments, particularly in the first part of the thesis, is related to the dialectic of the interaction between the Scottish Pakistani population and the wider Scottish society – to the reaction of the wider society to the presence of the south Asian migrants and the latter's social responses. It has been argued that the large-scale migration of people from the Indian sub-continent and the existing racial prejudice and stereotypes about them are a consequence of the long British colonial rule over what are now Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. Racial stereotypes about the culture and character of these "coloured" British colonial subjects were established in Scotland through the stories of the returning Scottish soldiers, missionaries, the writing of colonial administrators, and even through school and children's books. The arrival of the early migrants to Scotland from the Indian sub-continent who were destitute and poor colonial subjects, further confirmed the already established racial stereotypes and prejudice about them. Thus, the general reaction to the presence of these colonial migrants in Scotland was one of rejection. This was further translated into exclusionary practices against them. The historical evidence shows that these South-Asian migrants were not only excluded from the social, cultural and political institutional life of the wider society, but they were also subject to racial violence and harassment.

Despite successive anti-discriminatory legislation, social and political movements, and progressive-liberal writings, racial discrimination and violence against these "coloured" migrants has not only continued, but has increased. More importantly recent empirical evidence shows that Pakistanis are more subject to racial violence than other minority groups in Britain. These figures, moreover, show that members of Britain's ethnic minority groups, particularly Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, have been excluded from those important spheres of social life that constitute the basic elements of citizenship in a welfare society. These include discrimination in employment, in housing, sports and social cultural entertainment, and political institutional life of the wider society. Such exclusionary practices and discrimination against Scotland's Pakistani population in the present context has had important social implications for them: a sense of rejection, of non-citizenship and consequent feeling of insecurity. The Pakistani population in turn responded to their exclusion and its social and psychological consequences by returning into themselves, and to their own traditional cultural, social and human resources. They have been forced to create their own mini-economic, cultural, and political institutions that have gradually separated them from the wider society, and continue to do so.

There is much empirical evidence showing strong relationships between exclusionary practices against Britain/Scotland's Pakistani population in the labour market and their self-employment that is gradually forcing Pakistanis to form small communities of shopkeepers. The evidence further shows a close connection between discrimination against Pakistanis in housing and their clustering in certain areas of many cities in Britain. This is less evident in Edinburgh. Nevertheless there is some recent evidence showing that Pakistanis increasingly tend to live close to each other in certain areas of the city. Similarly exclusionary practices against young Pakistanis in sports and in places of social/cultural entertainment play a determining role in the emergence of independent Pakistani sports clubs and teams and in the development of *Bhangras* (the Pakistanis' equivalent of Western disco clubs). More importantly the exclusion of Britain's Pakistani population from the political and institutional life of the wider society has created a new political consciousness among them; it has created the need for political and social action, demanding their legal, social and political rights as equal citizens of the country. The campaign for Muslim schools to be given grant-aided status (as Catholic and Jewish schools) and for Islam to be included in the Blasphemy Law are cases in point. The creation of "The Muslim Parliament of Great Britain" is an extreme response of Pakistani Muslims to their political exclusion.

All this points to a strong reactive element in the making of a "closed" Pakistani community in Scotland and in Britain. A community that draws increasingly sharper social boundaries between itself and the wider society; a community whose members search for social belonging, cultural identity and inclusion within these social and cultural boundaries. Empirical evidence from Edinburgh's Pakistani community shows that the search for social belonging and identity is particularly strong among the second generation, British-born Pakistanis who encounter racial discrimination and exclusion more frequently and directly than their parents. The data presented in Chapter IV shows that the second-generation Pakistanis identify more strongly with their "Pakistaniness" than with their "Britishness". However, the same data also show that the second generation, who take pride in their ethnicity, interpret the religious and cultural values of their community in a modern and relatively secular way. They generally place stronger emphasis on the reinforcement of the cultural aspects of the social order of their community and on the core religious values (not all) that are deemed essential as part of their basic religious belief and identity. The second generation Pakistanis who will succeed their fathers as leaders of the Pakistani community favour a cohesive and distinctively Pakistani community to which they can belong and identify with as Pakistanis; but, at the same time, they favour a community that is modern and based on a more flexible version of religious and cultural Pakistani values.

I will discuss the ways that the British-born young Pakistanis relate to the existing moral and social order of Edinburgh's Pakistani community later. First it is important to look at one of the central themes of the thesis - the social order of the Edinburgh Pakistani community and its maintenance (social control). The present study reveals that four fundamental social institutions constitute the social and moral order of the community. The social institutions also operate as agencies of social control within the community. These four social institutions are the family, the *Biraderi* (Social network of kinship/friendship relationship), the mosque and the Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and the East of Scotland (P.A.E.E.S.).

The Pakistani family in Edinburgh is the most important agency of social control in the community. The present study reveals that the Pakistani family in Edinburgh continues to be an extended/joint social unit. However, it is a "modified" extended/joint family that has adapted itself to the new circumstances after the migration to Scotland. Although members rarely live together under one roof or in adjacent houses/flats, the Pakistani family is often a branch of an extended family in

Scotland, England and/or in Pakistan. It has largely preserved and reinforced its traditional structure and functions.

The most important features of the British Pakistani family are socialisation of the British-born young Pakistanis and "parental authority" that operate as important mechanisms of social control. Amid the pressures from the dominant culture of wider society the socialisation of the British born children to Islamic/Pakistani values plays an important role in their social bonding to the Pakistani community's moral and social order. In order to counter-act encroachments of the wider society's values, the socialisation process of the British-born Pakistani children is extended to the mosque-school where they are taught the fundamentals of the Islamic belief system and are trained for active participation in the cultural and religious life of the community. In some cases these children are sent to Pakistan for their cultural and religious socialisation. The basic socialisation process is further backed up by "parental authority"; it is the "legitimate" right of parents to exercise (external) control over their children so that they conform to the community's norms. Parents' main sources of authority are cultural and religious values and their control over the family's property/business. Both the socialisation process and parental authority, as mechanisms of social control, play an important role in the social bonding of the young Pakistanis to the community, and in regulating their behaviour according to its norms. Thus, it is concluded the Pakistani family in Edinburgh operates as a relatively powerful agency of social control of the community.

The second important agency of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community is the *Biraderi*. The "effective" *Biraderi* in the present study is defined as a social institution where members have close and complex reciprocal relationships in a kinship/friendship framework. The most important aspect of the "effective" *Biraderi* is *Lina Dina* (Taking and Giving). *Lina Dina* or a form of institutionalised reciprocity constitutes the machinery of this social institution. The continuous (sometimes even inherited) taking and giving of gifts, favours and services strongly binds the donor(s) and the recipient(s) through lasting moral and social obligations to each other. The act and ceremony of gift-giving that often takes place during a public gathering (mainly wedding) is not only a communication between the donor(s) and the recipient(s) but also between them and onlookers within their *Biraderi*, in a rival *Biraderi* and those in the apparently "passive" community. By giving away a specific amount/quality of a gift (often in the context of pre-existing *Lina Dina*) the donor(s) not only sends a specific message - respect, disrespect, solidarity and continuation of *Lina Dina* or stopping it to the recipient(s) – but they also send the

same messages to members of their own *Biraderi*, to those in rival *Biraderis* and to the general community. Continuous *Lina Dina* of gifts, favours and services create mutual social and moral obligations and interdependence among members of the *Biraderis* and strongly binds them to each other. This in turn, results in a communitarian structure of the *Biraderi* where *Izzet* and *Bizati* (Honour and Dishonour) operate as effective mechanisms of social control.

Izzet is a profoundly established notion in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. An individual or a family's *Izzet* is a complex package of various elements that are intricately interwoven. The most important of these elements among Edinburgh's Pakistanis are: belonging to high caste; a large number of men in the family (or extended family); social/political influence in Britain and/or in Pakistan; high professional and educational qualifications; generosity; a reputation for honesty; religiosity; and wealth. But the mere objective existence of these elements may not necessarily constitute *Izzet*. The community's evaluation of the claimants of *Izzet* against these closely interlinked elements is a necessary condition. Thus, *Izzet* in the present study is defined as: an individual/group's perception of its social standing as it is seen and evaluated by the community.

Izzet is important for Edinburgh's Pakistanis, because it qualifies individuals and families for equal membership of the community – a respectable Muslim and Pakistani. Members who have "less" *Izzet* are treated as less than equal members of the community. Less than a certain degree of *Izzet* or its loss leads to *Bizat* (Dishonour). *Bizat* brings disgrace to individuals and families. The *Bizat* (Honourless) is looked down on; people avoid association with them and do not trust him/her in business and other transactions; he/she loses the chance of marriage with (ordinarily) respectable members of the *Biraderi*. These social sanctions against the *Bizat* often extend and apply to his/her close kin and friends too. In extreme cases, the unrepentant and indifferent *Bizat* is labelled as *Bisharm Adami* (shameless person). The *Bisharm Adami* is practically excluded from the community. Because he/she is socially and culturally excluded from the community, it is difficult to trace the *Bisharm Adami* in person within the community. But, he/she profoundly exists in the collective memory of the community as an extreme example of *Bizat*. Since violation of the community's norms leads to reducing or losing *Izzet* and lack of *Izzet* disqualifies individuals and families from respectable and equal membership of the community, *Izzet* and *Bizati* operate as powerful mechanisms of social control in this particular community.

The bonding of members of Edinburgh's Pakistani community to its social and moral order within the family and the *Biraderi* are further strengthened and find practical expression in the collective activities and social arrangements in the mosque and in the Pakistani Association, Edinburgh and East of Scotland (P.A.E.E.S.). As mentioned, the mosque not only functions as a place for individual and collective worship and celebration of religious and social occasions, but also caters for the religious education of the British-born Pakistani children. The regular classes of Islamic teachings, or *sabaq*, are mainly the continuation of the socialisation process of these children to the Islamic belief system, and to Islamic morality. However, in the *sabaq*-class in the mosque more emphasis is placed on the practical aspects of the Islamic education. The young Pakistani boys are taught to read (and to some extent writing) Arabic and Urdu scripts; they are required to memorise some sections from the Holy Quran that are essential for performing prayers; and more importantly they are encouraged to participate in collective worship. This socialisation to Islamic beliefs and rituals enables the British-born young Pakistanis to participate practically in complex rituals and collectively performed worship. It integrates them into the social and religious world of the adults, and prepares them for respectable membership of the Pakistani and of the Muslim community in Edinburgh and in Scotland. Hence, it is not surprising that a large number of young Pakistanis participate in the most important congregational worship of *Jom'a* (Friday) and *Eid* (that marks the first non-fasting day at the end of Ramadan).

The *Jom'a* congregational worship is one of the most important regular religious and social events. It is weekly "compulsory" worship (from Islamic theological point of view) that includes sermons, collectively performed, ritualistic prayer and extended preaching about *Awamir* and *Nawahhi* (Islamic obligations and prohibitions). The *Jom'a* prayer may be the fulfilment of a religious obligation and a sacred religious occasion for seeking forgiveness for "sins" from the individual worshipper's point of view or it may be an occasion to preach about Islamic morality and remind the faithful of the *Awamir* and *Nawahi*, the life after life, the Heaven and Hell from the *Hafiz Sahib's* perspective. But from the sociologist's point of view the most important function of the *Jom'a* congregational worship is profoundly social: the highly organised assemblance of the faithful in straight rows facing *Ka'aba* (the Holy House in Mecca), the collective and simultaneously performed rituals of *rok'o* (bowing) and *sajda* (putting the fore-heads to the ground), the "USs" and "WEs" of the sermons, the wordings of the preaching, and the collective seeking of forgiveness from Allah all point to the collective expression of shared beliefs and deeply-held sentiments. It is a collective expression of a sense of community and of shared social bond to "their"

moral and social order. The warm embracings and shaking of hands in the end of the *Jom'a* worship further confirms this; it has important implications for social control; a renewal of membership and of loyalty to the common moral community; and a public commitment to abide by the demands of its moral and social order.

This commitment to a common moral and social order finds further practical expression during the fasting month of *Ramadan*. Absolute abstention from food, drink, smoking and conjugal relationships, for the period of a month is a practical translation of belief into practice. The sharing of food every evening for a collective break of fast (*Iftar*), the sharing of happiness on the *Eid*-day (the festival that marks the first non-fasting day), further back up the faithfuls' shared beliefs and sentiments by their deeds. But the happiness of the *Eid*-day must be shared by members of the moral community, including those who, during the past year, had had grievances against each other. It is on this occasion that "annoyed brothers" are reconciled. The mediation of the community leaders on this occasion is most effective as a mechanism of social control. The mediatory practices of the community leaders, also take place within a structured context of the "Pakistan Association, Edinburgh and the East of Scotland" (P.A.E.E.S.).

The P.A.E.E.S. provides a semi-formal framework for the various social arrangements, activities and institutional practices within the community. The association as a formal representative body of Edinburgh's Pakistani community makes policies and executes them through its formal organisational structure. The most central apparatus in the organisational structure is the "executive committee" that consists of the influential leaders of the community who are also called "office bearers". Social control in the P.A.E.E.S. is closely linked to the social bases of its leaders' power. The most important bases of the power of these leaders are their control over the economic, managerial and institutional/political resources, and their family-*izzet* and prestige in the community. However, they exercise authority through formal mechanisms that often involve mediation. The main spheres where the P.A.E.E.S.'s leaders exercise authority are domestic issues (i.e. divorce, separation, domestic violence etc.), business-related problems, and feuds between individuals and/or families within the community. In some cases, nevertheless, the P.A.E.E.S.'s exercise of authority may take a purely official form, such as termination of the offender's membership in the association, etc. Non-conformists may become a subject of further social sanctions through invoking pressures from the kinship groups. Thus, the P.A.E.E.S. operates both a formal and informal agency of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

It must be mentioned that the various mechanisms of social control that operate within each of the four social institutions of Edinburgh's Pakistani community interact with one another and are interrelated in complex ways. The interrelationships between these various mechanisms are illustrated in Diagram 2 below:

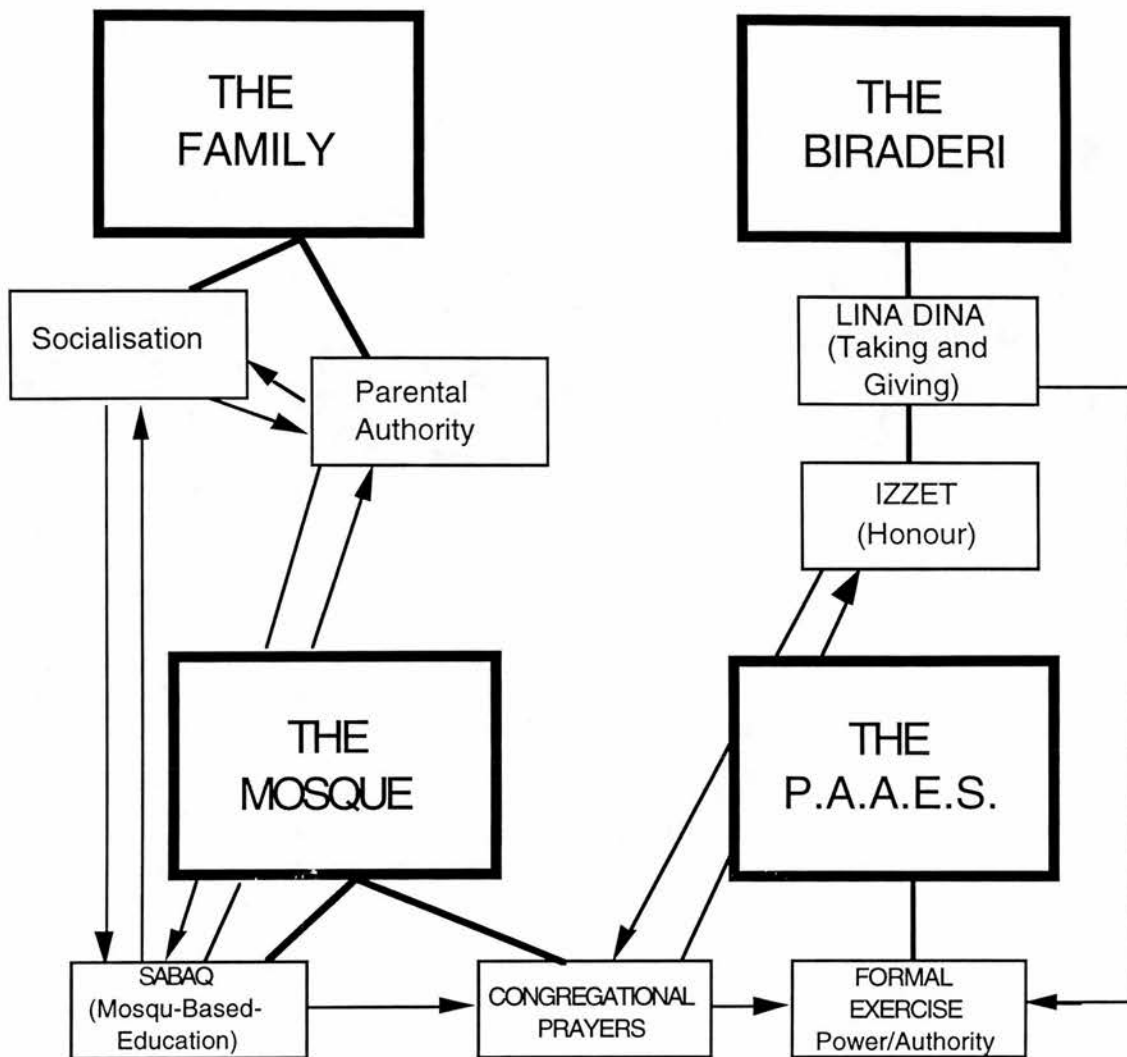


Diagram 2, Interrelationships between various mechanism of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community.

Diagram 2 shows that the seven fundamental mechanisms of social control that operate within the social institutional frameworks of the family, the *Biraderi*, the mosque, and P.A.E.E.S. interact with one another directly and indirectly. The interaction among the mechanisms may take the form of two-way interrelationships; or it may be one way relationships. The diagram illustrates the existence of relatively complex interrelationships between "socialisation", "parental authority" and "sabaq". As the diagram indicates, each of the three mechanisms strengthen and mutually support one another. Among these three mechanisms of social control the *sabaq* acts as an immediate bridge between the British-born young Pakistanis and the adult community – it integrates the former to the community through their participation in congregational worship, collective ceremonies and rituals. This in

turn has a strong bearing on individual and family *Izzet* of the regular participants as equal and *sharif* (decent) members of the "moral" and cultural community. Likewise only people with a certain degree of *Izzet* feel comfortable (or even are eligible) to participate in the community's regular collective religious and cultural activities. However, the relationship between *Lina Dina* and *Izzet* are one way: *Lina Dina* plays a direct part in increasing individual's family-*Izzet*; but not the other way round. Nevertheless, *Lina Dina* operates through *Izzet* in enabling members of the community to gain positions of leadership in the P.A.E.E.S. and to exercise power/authority. Thus, it may be concluded that interaction among the various mechanisms in turn closely interlink the four social institutions of Edinburgh's Pakistani community, constituting the overall structure of social relationships and social control in this small-scale society.

What has been said has highlighted my summaries and conclusions about the various institutional arrangements, processes and mechanisms that have contributed to the formation of the social order of Edinburgh's Pakistani Community, to its maintenance, and the ways members have related and formed social bonds to it. These conclusions were generally based on the analysis of empirical data presented in the first part of the thesis - social control. The question of how strong members' social bonds were to the conventional order of the community, was examined in the second part of the thesis - social deviance. In order to explain deviance in terms of the strength or weakness of individuals' social bonds, Travis Hirschi's social control theory was used as a theoretical framework for the study of sixty deviant and non-deviant Pakistani boys in Edinburgh - the Pilrig Boys. Hirschi's theory and its assumptions were examined against empirical data in the Pilrig sample. Results of the relationships between the degree of strength of each element of the social bond - attachment, commitment, involvement and belief - and the degrees of deviance among the Pilrig boys (conformists, accommodationists, part-time conformists, rebels) are summarised, and conclusions are drawn, in the following pages.

Attachment is considered as the most important element of the social bond. As already mentioned, it refers to a person's affectionate relationships with other individuals (and institutions) and therefore sensitivity to their opinions, feelings and expectations. The most important sources of attachment in the present study were parents, the school and friends. Results of the empirical examination of the relationships between each dimension of attachment and deviance in the Pilrig sample are summarised and illustrated in Diagram 3 below:

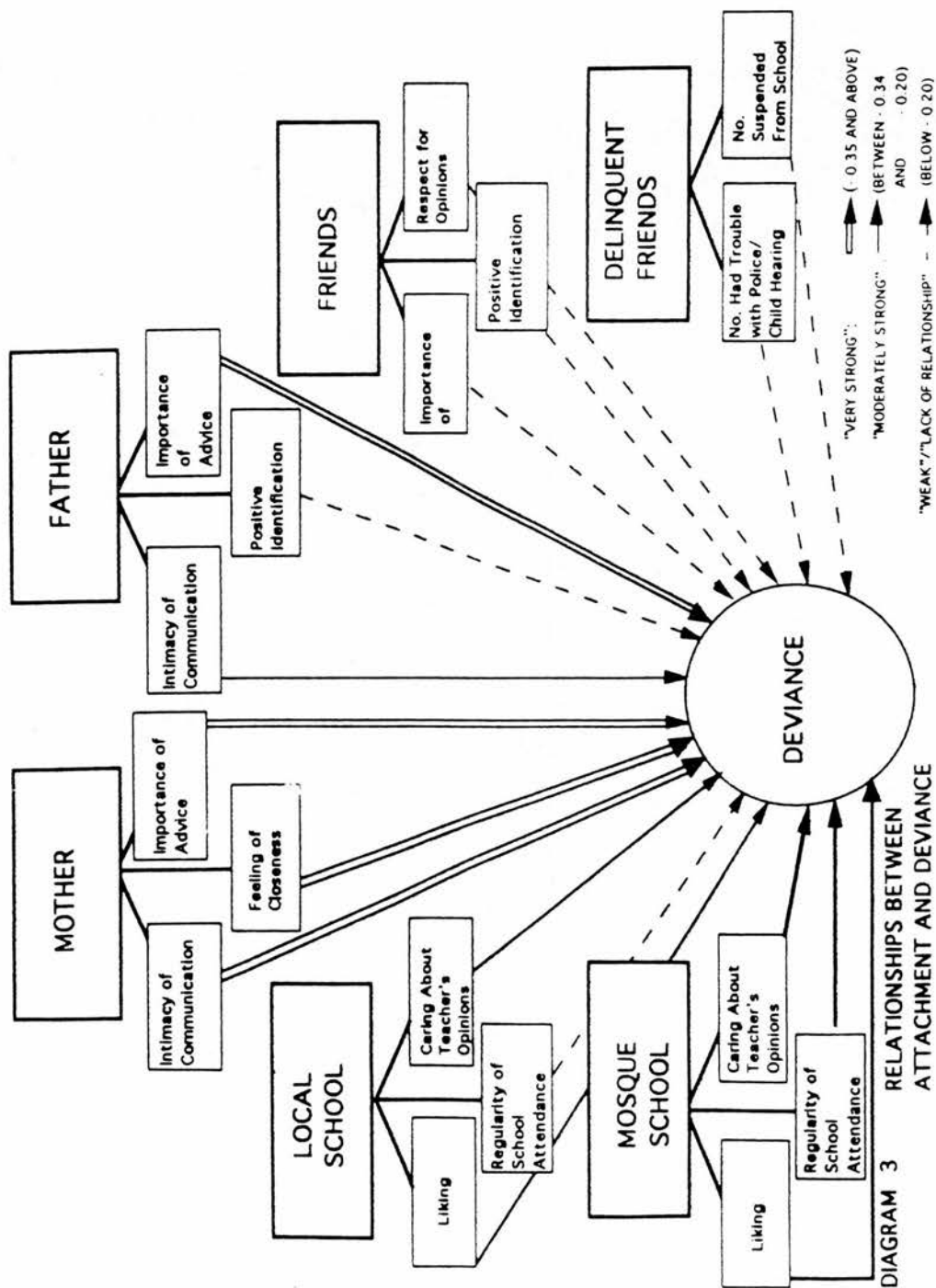


Diagram 3 shows that each indicator of attachment to the mother ("intimacy of communication", "importance of advice", "advice", and "feeling of closeness") is very strongly correlated with deviance among the Pilrig boys. But with regard to the relationship between attachment to the father, only "importance of father's advice" is very strongly correlated with deviance. The relationships between "intimacy of communication" with father and deviance are moderately strong. "Positive identification" with the father, however, has weak relationships with the dependent variable. Thus, it can be concluded that attachment to the mother plays a more important role in controlling deviance among the Pilrig sample than attachment to the father.

As far as the relationships between attachment to the school and deviance are concerned Diagram 3 shows a slightly different picture from that of the attachment between parents and the dependent variable. The relationships between "liking the school" and "caring about teachers' opinions", in the case of both the local (Scottish) school and the mosque-school are (moderately) strong. While the relationship between the third indicator of attachment to the school ("regularity of attendance") and deviance is also (moderately) strong in the case of the mosque-school, it is weak in the case of the local school. However, the correlation coefficient figure ($T_b = -0.18$) is very close to the $T_b = -0.20$, a figure that is used as the lower limit of moderately strong correlation in the present study. Thus, it may be said that, in general, the relationships between attachment to both the local and to the mosque-school and deviance are moderately strong.

There are, however, some surprising results in this study. Diagram 3 shows that there are no strong (and therefore not significant) relationships between any one of the three indicators of attachment to friends ("importance of friends", "respect for best friends' opinions", "positive identification with best friend") and deviance among the Pilrig boys. Similarly, these results reveal that there are no significant relationships between having friends who had trouble with the police (or who have attended the children's hearing) or had been suspended from the school and deviance in the Pilrig sample. These results, showing that attachment to "best friends" has no role in controlling or promoting deviance in the Pilrig sample, must be treated with caution. As discussed in Chapter V, the cultural context of friendship in Edinburgh's Pakistani community is deeply rooted in kinship relationships. "Best friends" outside the social networks of kinship tend to have little importance in influencing a young Pakistani's behaviour. Young kin who are called "brothers" and "cousins" play a crucial role in this respect.

On the basis of the overall picture of the present data, it can be concluded that attachment to mother plays a more important role in controlling deviance among the Pilrig boys than attachment to father; attachment to the local (Scottish) school is almost as important as attachment to the mosque-school, whereas there are no strong relationships between attachment to friends (whether delinquents or non-delinquents) and deviance in the Pilrig sample.

As far as the other three elements of social bond - commitment, involvement and belief - are concerned, Diagram 4 below illustrates the relationships between each of these elements and deviance among the Pilrig boys, as follows:

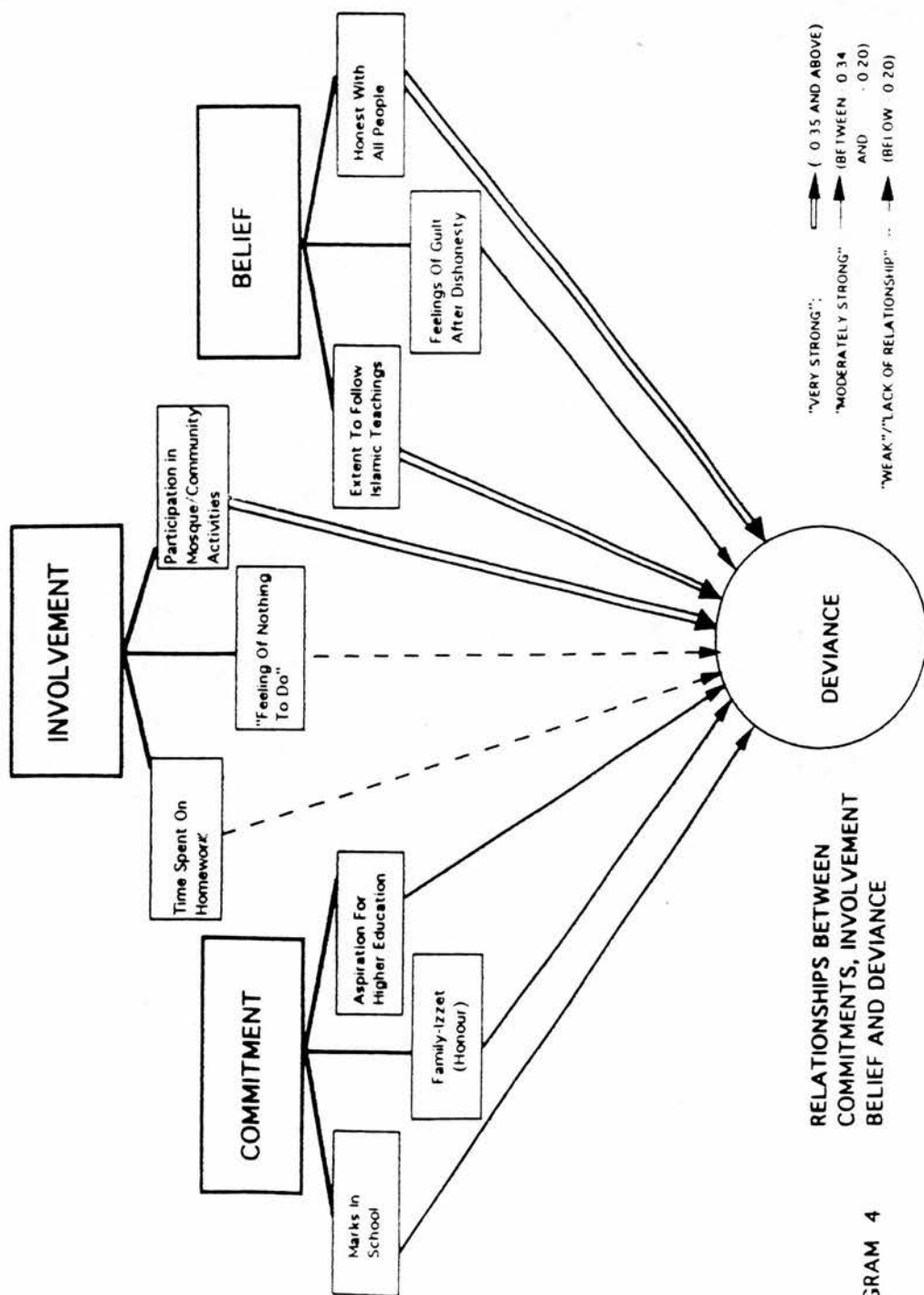


Diagram 4 shows that commitment (which is defined as an individual's social investments in a conventional line of action) is strongly correlated with deviance in the Pilrig sample. The diagram illustrates that a moderately strong negative correlation exists between each of the three indicators of commitment ("marks in school", "aspiration for higher/professional education" and "family-izzet") and deviance. However, the diagram shows a different picture of the relationships between (inhibitive) involvement (an individual's participation in those conventional activities that strengthen his/her social bond to society's conventional order) and deviance. While "participation in the mosque/community activities" has a very strong negative correlation with deviance, the correlation between the "amount of time spent on homework" and the dependent variable is weak. But the third indicator of involvement, or "feeling of nothing to do", is not correlated with deviance in the Pilrig sample at all.

Finally, Diagram 4 shows that the relationship between belief, or the moral validity and acceptance of rules/social norms, and deviance among the Pilrig boys is even stronger than that between both commitment and involvement and the dependent variable. Both the belief about "the following of Islamic teachings" and the belief about the principle of "honesty with all people" are very strongly and negatively correlated with deviance, but the correlation between "feelings of guilt" (after behaving dishonestly) and deviance among the Pilrig boys is only moderately strong (and negative).

Thus, it is generally concluded that those Pilrig boys who were less attached to parents and teachers, who were less committed to a conventional line of action, who participated less in school and community-related activities and who accepted the moral values of their community, and of the wider society to a lesser extent tended strongly to be among the deviants. These conclusions support Hirschi's social control theory, according to which individuals whose social bonds to the society's/community's conventional order are weak or broken are more likely to get involved in crime and deviance.

Finally, this study as a whole shows that the apparently separate themes of "social control" and "social deviance" are closely interrelated. It shows that the agencies of social control in Edinburgh's Pakistani community – the family, the *Biraderi*, the mosque and the P.A.E.E.S. – define what deviance in this particular religio-cultural community is. At the same time, repeated deviance from the community's norms

forced its agencies of social control to tolerate or even redefine deviance. This clearly indicates that social control and deviance are two fundamental aspects of social organisation; the two are integral to the orderly social functioning of the community.

APPENDIX i

SOCIAL CONTROL THEORY AND ITS PLACE IN CONTEMPORARY THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY.

Social Control Theory And Its Place In Contemporary Theoretical Criminology.

The following discussion examines the development of contemporary criminological theory. The first section briefly describes the central premises of the classical and the positivist schools that constitute the bases for most modern criminological theories. The second section deals with an examination of major theoretical trends in modern criminological theory. In the last section of this discussion social control theory that is the subject of an empirical "test" in this study, is examined. The main assumptions of social control theory and the way they relate to modern criminological theory constitute the final section(s) of this discussion.

The Foundations Of Contemporary Criminological Theory

The fundamental ideas of "social contract" and "enlightenment" philosophers influenced the area of crime and punishment until the last quarter of the 19th century. The "Classical School of Criminal Law and of Criminology", inspired by these ideas and also by hedonistic psychology, viewed man as a self-interested creature, seeking pleasure and avoiding pain. This naturally crime-prone creature, in order to be able to calculate the profit or harm expected from his acts, was endowed with "rationality". For classicists, the rational man also had "free will" to choose between "good" and "evil" as were specified under his contract with the state.

On the basis of such assumptions all those who broke "the social contract" were "responsible" for their criminal acts, regardless of their social circumstances and individual characteristics (except the insane and children who were considered as lacking "rationality"). For the sake of deterrence, the naturally crime-prone but rational man was warned by the application of "proportionate" punishment to convince him that crime did not pay.

Although the Classical Schools' hard stance on "free will", "rationality", "criminal responsibility" and on "proportionality" of punishment was softened by the "New Classicists", the winds of a radical change - the positivist revolution - had already blown and continued to blow. The failure of Classical School-based institutions of criminal justice and control to fight against crime and to prevent recidivism effectively on the one hand, and the development of government statistical surveys, advancements in the field of psychiatry and the existence of prison as a laboratory

for criminological research (Garland 1985) on the other hand were all conditions that demanded a change and made it possible for a "science" of the criminal to emerge. What was equally crucial in this respect, however, was the coincidence of these conditions with the development of the more objective and experimental sciences (other than psychiatry) such as biology, psychology, anthropology and sociology that lent their theoretical concepts, scientific or semi-scientific tools and methods to the emerging "science". (Jeffrey 1960).

Thus, criminology as a "science", looking for cause and effect relationships, shifted the previous emphases from philosophy and Law to natural and behavioural sciences, from arm-chair thinking to objective observation of facts in the actual events of life, and from crime to the criminal. The new science put forward a programme comprising of clear-cut principles and a strategic objective - the elimination of crime. The main principles on which "scientific" criminology was based included: determinism, differentiation and pathology.

(i) DETERMINISM, a notion quite opposite to "free-will", means that all human behaviour including criminal behaviour is determined by certain causes that are beyond the individual's control. Criminals are the innocent victims of biological, psychological and social causes that made them break the law. This positivist principle alone has very important practical implications: if criminal behaviour is determined by causes and factors that are beyond the individual's control, then criminal responsibility should cease to exist and as should punishment. Indeed, this is the stance of positivist criminology.

(ii) DIFFERENTIATION is again opposite to the classicists' assumptions that all men are similarly constituted and are equally rational and free-willed (except the specific categories mentioned earlier). For the positivists, criminals are markedly different from non-criminals in their physical/biological make-up, personality traits and in their social circumstances and values. A quantitative understanding of these differences, that is considered possible in positivist criminology, directly contributes to the achievement of its strategic objective.

(iii) PATHOLOGY means that criminals are not only different from their law abiding counterparts, but they are also abnormal individuals. They are the sick members of society who deviate from the social health standards. For positivists, individual pathology can be diagnosed and in most cases cured. If not, the pathological individual should be kept away from society or even eliminated.

Determinism, differentiation and pathology all carry an inherent message for the search for the causes of crime that directly links these principles of positivist criminology to its strategic objective, i.e. the elimination of crime. The positivists suggested certain measures for the elimination of crime and its causes. On a more general level, these measures were classified into corrective and preventative measures.

In the 1960s and 1970s a kind of disinterest in and even antagonism to, positivist criminology appeared. It will be beyond the limits of the present discussion to give a detailed account of this disinterest and antagonism. But, on a more general level, some of the main reasons, alongside certain special social and political conditions in the U.S. and U.K., were: the failure of positivist criminology to achieve its strategic objective - the elimination of crime; difficulties in the application of its "borrowed" methods to human behaviour; and the crime-producing (labelling) nature of the correctional institutions and their related "statism".

The above mentioned reasons contributed to development of the ideas of: Lemert and Becker (1951; 1966) and to their incorporation of "symbolic interactionism" into the explanation of deviancy, to Matza (1964) and his "soft determinism"; to Marxists and their working-class criminology; to Hirschi and Reckless (1967; 1969) and their revivification of the buried bones of social control theory into a dynamic explanation of deviant behaviour; and to radical criminologists and their politico-criminological programmes.

In almost all these new orientations the revival of some classicist themes is apparent. They no longer view the deviant as a completely helpless and passive victim of pre-determined causes and factors. Instead, he is viewed as a creator of deviancy, a revolutionary, or, at least, a rational and reasoning individual who "chooses" to commit crime.

Despite the appearance of new themes or the reappearance of old ones, the new theoretical orientations did not completely break up with positivism: Matza's "soft determinism" is after all a kind of "determinism"; Hirschi's "causes of delinquency" are CAUSES of delinquency; The labelists' "affected self concept" is the CAUSE of "secondary deviance", and, some versions of radical criminology tend to include in their explanations the questions "Why do they do it?" and to which they give determinism-based answers.

Having given a brief and general account of the historical development of criminological theory, it may be said that classicism, positivism (or elements of them) and non-positivism, as distinguished from both, all exist in contemporary criminology and criminological theory.

Major Theoretical Trends In Contemporary Criminological Theory

The major theoretical orientations in contemporary criminology could be classified as : strain theory, theories of cultural deviance, labelling theory, conflict theory, radical criminology and social control theory. Each of the first five theories will be briefly discussed below, while social control theory that constitutes the theoretical framework of this study will be dealt with in more detail.

Strain Theory

The intellectual roots of strain theory can be traced in Durkheim's (1963) famous work "*Suicide*" in which he analysed from a sociological point of view the concept "Anomie", which for him meant normlessness. It is a situation in which individuals face absence of collectively established goals to satisfy their socially acquired desires, and therefore look for de-regulated ways of satisfaction. Contemporary strain theorists have modified "Anomie" in several ways. The collectively established goals are present, and an anomic situation takes place when there is a discrepancy between the existent goals and the institutionalised means for reaching them, in a particular social structure. For strain theorists socialisation is perfect, and therefore man is viewed as a moral animal who ordinarily conforms to the universally accepted norms and values of society and will continue to do so, unless he is under great pressure. Merton (1959) contends that the discrepancy between the cultural goals and the institutionalised means for reaching them pressurises the moral man not to obey the rules of society, as they fall short of satisfying his legitimate desires. In this way he escapes the "pressure" and searches for deviant alternatives for satisfaction: he may create his own means to satisfy his legitimate aspirations (Innovation); he may become an obedient slave of the culture, not wondering where it takes him (Ritualism); he may even disappointedly surrender and admit that he is no more OF the society, only IN it (Retreatism); and lastly there is Merton's "rebel with cause" who not only rebels against the existing goals and means, but also wants to substitute them with new ones (Rebellion).

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) who basically agree with the Mertonian formulation, assert that the pressure from becoming blocked in a legitimate opportunity structure is not sufficient to explain deviant adaptations. An illegitimate opportunity structure must also exist to which the potential deviant must be admitted to learn the available deviant behaviour:

. . . (We) think of individuals as being located in two opportunity structures - one legitimate, the other illegitimate. Given limited access to success goals by legitimate means, the nature of the delinquent response . . . will vary according to the availability of the various illegitimate means.

(Cloward and Ohlin 1960: 152)

Cloward and Ohlin further explain the various illegitimate opportunities in a slum community and identify three types of deviant pattern: a stable criminal pattern, a conflict pattern, and a retreatist pattern.

While the strain theorists opened up an important intellectual debate about the causes of crime and deviancy, their theory of deviancy leaves many issues untouched and many questions unanswered. Strain theorists are almost silent about middle-class crime and delinquency: if the victims of blocked opportunities in a capitalist socio-economic structure are mainly lower-class individuals, then the middle and upper classes who, are assumed to have access to the "success goals" through legitimate means should not get involved in crime and deviancy, while in fact many do. Furthermore, strain theory does not touch on the issue of individual differences in regard to the strength of internalised inhibitions and counteracting motives toward "pressures". For example, strain theory does not tell us why some boys in a high delinquency slum who are both lower-class and have been exposed to delinquent subculture still remain what Reckless calls "good boys". At this point our discussion tends to touch on issues relating to culture and sub-culture.

Theories Of Cultural Deviance

Though Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) conception of "illegitimate opportunity structure" brings strain and cultural deviance theorists closer to each other, their basic assumptions remain in disagreement. For the cultural deviance theorist deviant behaviour, like any other behaviour, is normally learned in the process of social interaction, therefore, there is no need for any special pressure or strain to account

for it. The cultural deviance theorist contends that socialisation produces perfectly conformist individuals to the norms of their culture. But, unfortunately, social differentiations within modern society produces a plurality of values. Individuals belonging to the various socially and structurally differentiated units or subcultures act in very different ways. Thus, conforming to one's own sub-culture may be defined as deviance and crime by the standards of the politically powerful group in society.

In one version of cultural deviance theories a person becomes delinquent through a process of what Sutherland calls "differential association";

"A person becomes delinquent because of excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law. This is the principle of differential association. It refers to both criminal and anti-criminal associations and has to do with counteracting forces. When persons become criminal, they do so because of contacts with criminal patterns and also because of isolation from anti-criminal patterns (Sutherland 1966: 81)

In the process of differential contacts with criminal and anti-criminal patterns, such variables as "frequency", "priority", and "intensity" (of the contacts) play an important role in an individual's socialisation to criminal values, Sutherland says. Furthermore, the potential criminal will have to learn the necessary skills for committing a particular criminal act, depending on the extent of its complexity. Sutherland, in fact, explains the mechanism of socialisation toward crime and delinquency.

Other versions of cultural deviance theories contend that delinquent behaviour is learned either within a distinctive subculture of working class males, who consciously hold values opposed to those of the middle-class, or is the product of working-class values and life-style that are naturally in conflict with those of the larger society. (Cohen 1955; Miller 1958)

According to Cohen's (1955) "Delinquent Boys", the problem of delinquent subculture arises when the working-class child enters the middle-class school, where he is assessed against the "middle-class measuring rod". The child's working-class values come into conflict with the dominant value system, and in order to win social approval in the school, he has to change his habits, his manners, his speech, and his peers. But he often finds this difficult, or in Cohen's words (1955: 117) "the game might not be worth the candle". In this way, the child, because of his

lower-class values, faces the contempt and indifference of classmates and teachers that, in turn, cause him "status anxiety". Thus, the working-class child joins other boys with the same problem and they try to create an alternative "measuring rod" to gain status according to their own values. Importantly, this new "measuring rod" is directly opposed to that of the middle class. Finally, Cohen adds that with the support and approval of peers within this distinctive group or gang a "delinquent subculture" that is problem-solving for its members but problem-creating for the larger society, comes to being. In another version of cultural deviance theory Walter Miller(1958) sees the source of "delinquent subculture" in the general life style and values of the working-class itself. According to Miller, the whole way of living of working class persons is based on such norms and values that merely following them leads to the violation of some official rules.

The theories of cultural deviance occupy an important place in criminological theory. But, their problems are also numerous; like strain theories, cultural deviance theories ignore individual differences in the explanation of deviance. They do not tell us why many boys living in "delinquency areas" conform to the values and standards of the larger society and remain "non-delinquents"? Why do some delinquents have no history of association with other delinquents?

Beside these problems, the actual existence of a "delinquent subculture" as proposed by Cohen, Miller and others is doubted by some researchers. For example, Hirschi's (1969) data showed that in all class segments of the society the higher the degree of attachment the less likely the child is to be delinquent. This means that if the delinquent subculture actually existed, the impact of attachment to "significant others" in the lower-class strata should have been different, i.e. the child strongly attached to lower-class parents should be more likely to become delinquent, whereas this was not the case.

From a different perspective Haney and Gold's (1973) findings demonstrated that teenagers from the working-class who are widely considered by adults in American society as delinquents, do not see themselves as delinquents. Now, the question is whether "subcultural delinquency" actually exists, or is it the outcome of a labelling process. Haney and Gold would prefer the latter, but, what is a labelling process?

Labelling Theory

Labelling theory is mainly based on the concepts and ideas developed by Tannenbaum (1938), Lemert (1951) and Becker (1963) while its basic assumptions are also shared by Erickson (1962); Kitsuse (1962) and Schur (1971), among others.

According to Tannenbaum (1938) labels such as "evil", "bad", "delinquency" and "the delinquent" are creations of the adult community whose values are different from those of juveniles. Running about, annoying people, climbing over roofs, and fighting, which are part of adolescents' normal street life are considered as delinquency by the adult community. According to Tannenbaum the official response to these acts by the social control and correctional agencies that isolate the individual concerned from his/her group, gradually shifts the definition or label from these acts to the actor himself, or herself. Thereafter, all his acts are looked upon with suspicion. Finally, Tannenbaum says, this "dramatisation of evil" makes the juvenile define himself as different, bad, evil and thus he/she actually becomes delinquent.

The notion of the "dramatisation of evil" was further developed by Lemert (1951; 1967) who coined the terms "primary" and "secondary" deviation. To distinguish the two, Lemert (1967: 62) says that primary deviation:

"...is polygenetic, arising out of a variety of social, cultural, psychological or physiological factors, either in adventitious or recurring combinations".

"Primary deviance", according to Lemert, does not have an important impact on the actor's status and self-perception, because, it is often considered as a result of normal human variation; it is generally accommodated for the sake of peaceful co-existence with others.

Primary deviance remains unimportant until it is dramatised as evil by society. The "dramatisation of evil", in turn, so deeply affects the previously established status and self-image of the individual concerned that he/she actually perceives himself or herself as evil. This change in the psychic structure of the individual is called "secondary deviation" by Lemert who says that:

"secondary deviation refers to a special class of socially defined responses which people make to problems created by the societal reaction to their deviance. These problems are essentially moral problems which revolve around

stigmatisation, punishment, segregation and social control. Their general effect is to differentiate the symbolic and interactional environment to which the person responds, so that early or adult socialisation is categorically affected."

(Lemert 1967: 63)

The process of "secondary deviation", in fact, leads to the exclusion of deviants from the group, and that is why one labelist calls them "Outsiders". This labelist theorist Howard Becker (1963: 9) says that: ". . .social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders." Becker further suggests that application of the term "deviant" should be restricted only to behaviour which is reacted to by the society and labelled as deviant. Thus, he makes a fundamental distinction between what he calls "rule-breaking behaviour" and "deviant behaviour". This distinction resembles Lemert's "primary" and "secondary" deviance: Lemert's "primary deviance" seems to be similar to Becker's "rule-breaking behaviour" and the former's "secondary deviance" to the latter's "deviant behaviour".

Lemert and Becker both believe that deviance, results from going against the expectations of the group and from its reaction to this violation. Labelling theory has greatly contributed to contemporary criminological theory, in particular, its incorporation of social control agencies as an essential element of any criminological inquiry is undoubtedly an innovative idea. But it has some inadequacies that seriously affect its status as an adequate theory of deviance.

Besides objections that it does not qualify the requirements for a "formal theory" (Gibbs 1966; Mankoff 1971; Taylor et al 1973; Trice and Roman 1970), its one sided astructural analysis (Davis 1972; Gouldner 1968; Liazos 1972; Taylor et al 1973) and its silence regarding "primary deviance" (Bourda 1969; Mankoff 1971; Taylor et al 1973), labelling theory does not specify WHO in WHAT conditions is affected by the labels. In other words, labelling theory ignores the fact that all those labelled as deviants do not necessarily become secondary deviants - there are some on whom official prosecution has a deterrent impact, and there are others whose self concept following the imposition of labels does not undergo a significant change, e.g. political "criminals".

Another objection to labelling is that the individuals who are labelled as deviant may have some pre-existing disposition towards deviancy. Fisher's (1972) comparative study of two groups of students (those placed on probation and those without such

experience) in relation to their academic and non-academic performance demonstrated this: the "after" probation data showed that those placed on probation had lower academic and non-academic performance a result which supported labelling theory. But when Fisher analysed the pre-probation data the difference between the two groups' academic and non-academic performance was almost as great as it had been after probation or the imposition of labels.

Nevertheless, the contribution of labelling theory to criminology and more importantly to penology are of great importance. Its interest in the application of labels is further analysed by conflict and radical criminologists in a broader structural context where the powerful groups or classes impose their own legal labels on those who are weaker.

Group Conflict Theory And Radical Criminology

The common ground between group conflict and radical criminologists is their perception that crime is mainly produced by the prevailing social order, and therefore it is first of all a political question for both. However, conflict and radical criminologists are different from each other in their conceptualisation of the nature of social order. While for radicals the socio-political structure of the contemporary society ruled by the capitalist class is criminogenic, the conflict theorists view rule-breaking as a result a pluralistic society where conflicting interest groups compete for power and domination.

For conflict theorists such as Chambliss (1973); Hills (1971); Quinney (1970); Turk (1969); Vold (1958) and Wolfgang (1968), the dominant societal groups influence the law-making process in favour of their interests, whereas the subordinate groups are made subject to criminal status. Turk answers the question, "how does this happen?", as follows:

"... both eventual authorities and eventual subjects, learn and continually relearn to interact with one another as, respectively, occupants of superior and inferior statuses and performers of dominating and submitting roles."

(Turk 1969: 41-42)

Since the subordinate group cannot completely agree with the dominant group or the status and role assigned to each other, Turk argues, the resulting conflict leads to

violation of the law by members of the subordinate group; and thus they frequently become liable to the application of criminal statuses.

Beside victimisation of the weaker group through the law making process, conflict theorists do include in their analysis the differential law enforcement against the less powerful and subordinate groups. Victimisation of less powerful groups and a differential treatment of them forms the main focus of the analyses of the "New Criminologists", in Radical Criminology.

The "New Criminologists", by severely criticising group conflict theory and conventional criminology as a whole, call for a fresh approach and a new paradigm. The most important proponents of this approach, Ian Taylor, Paul Walton and Jock Young (1973) make a humanist-Marxist critique of the prevailing capitalist socio-political structure and its law-making and law-enforcing institutions that are dominated by the capitalist ruling class. For them the over-all super-structure of capitalism, reflecting the interests of the ruling class, make the proletariat bound to the law and penal sanctions, whereas the owners of the labour remain beyond incrimination. The "New Criminologists" propose an alternative socio-political agenda for the existing social, economic and political arrangements. They argue that the alternative is a society based on the principles of "socialist diversity", where inequalities of wealth and power no longer exist and thus there is no oppression and crime (or major forms of crime). However, to achieve such a society requires the demise of capitalism through a comprehensive political programme for social-democratic/revolutionary struggle. For Taylor et al (1973: 281) criminology is an integrated part of this political programme: "the retreat from theory is over, and the politization of crime and criminology is imminent". Thus, explaining crime and deviance in the "New Criminology" requires much broader scope than in the "Old Criminology".

Taylor, Walton and Young (1973: 270-76), in an attempt to explain deviance, moreover, propose what they call a "fully social theory of deviance" that includes the following elements: (1) The wider origins of the deviant act;(2) immediate origins of the deviant act;(3) The actual act;(4) Immediate origins of social reaction;(5) wider origins of deviant reaction;(6) the outcome of social reaction on deviants' further action and; (7) the nature of the deviant process as a whole.

The interest of the "New Criminology" in extending the study of crime into a broader social, economic and political frame-work is also shared by the "Birmingham

school". In their "Policing the Crisis", Stuart Hall et al (1978) have analysed the phenomena of "mugging" in England. Their analysis of mugging, state, law and order uncovers the contradictions of political economy in Britain. Hall et al conclude that youthful deviance and street-crime - particularly by the black population - in capitalist Britain emerges in the process of opposition to the "hegemony" of the state and to its interventionist law enforcement institutions that represent the interests of the capitalist ruling class. Like the "New Criminologists", proponents of this approach see the solution to crime problems in resolving problems that relate to the inequalities of power and wealth in the society.

Group conflict theories and radical criminology, since their emergence in the late 1960's and early 1970's, respectively, have covered a significant part of the criminological literature, pointing to fundamental issues ignored by conventional criminology. However they still have a long way to go and many questions to answer before they can adequately explain crime and deviance.

While correctly analysing the influence of dominant societal groups in the law-making process, conflict theorists seem to be asserting that nearly all societal laws (particularly criminal law) are the outgrowth of power struggle between various societal interest groups and thus the creation of the powerful. But because of the failure of conflict theorists to show satisfactory evidence for their assertion, it tends to be an overstatement.

Another question which might apply to some versions of conflict theory and to radical criminology as a whole concerns the utopian alternative they provide for the "criminogenic capitalist structure". Will their "socialism" (which is not clearly elaborated) practically abolish the differences of power and wealth, and could it be guaranteed that in their "socialist socio-political structure" the ruling party will not become a "new class" with an unchecked exercise of power?

As far as the "fully social theory of deviance" proposed by the "New Criminologists" is concerned, it appears to be a broad agenda for a new, relatively adequate criminological theory, rather than a self-contained theory of mutually interrelated propositions. The various elements of the "theory" are very general and cover such a wide area that makes it very difficult to apply to a specific situation and to test it. I raised this question at the end of Professor Ian Taylor's lecture on February 22nd 1988, during his visit to the faculty. Though Professor Taylor tried to defend his and his colleague's theory, saying that it is testable, he showed no evidence, except a

minor study on prostitution in Canada. One wonders how well this general theory could have been applied to that specific situation. However, the "fully social theory of deviance" needs more specification; Taylor et al (1973: 270) and his colleagues admit that it is unfinished: and state that "We shall expand on this later; for the time being it is clearly essential to spell out the elements of the formal model that emerge out of the imminent critique."

Very recently, Radical Criminology's utopianism and some of its absences in the present social and political circumstances provoked a reaction by prominent scholars (mainly British) who have adopted a new approach to the analysis of crime and its control, called "Realist Criminology" or "Left Realism". One of the founders of "Left Realism" describes its nature as:

"The central tenet of Left Realism is -to reflect the reality of crime, that is in its origins, its nature and its impact. This involves a reflection of tendencies to romanticise crime or to pathologise it, to analyse solely from the point of view of administration of crime or the criminal actor, to underestimate crime or to exaggerate it. "

(Young 1986: 21)

Realist criminologists analyse crime and its control in a broad social democratic framework. They see a solution to the problems of crime and its control in democratisation of the existing social institutions (especially those concerned with criminal justice and social control) according to the principals of socialist diversity. The principles of this social democratic programme are:

(1) Viewing crime as a real problem especially for the working class; (2) the necessity of the participation of left-wing scholars (especially social democrats) in the institution of crime control; (3) an emphasis on the study of victimisation; (4) the need to transform policing into a public service; (5) and a break with the deterministic explanation of criminal behaviour.

Realist criminology, whilst having learnt lessons from the crisis of conventional criminology and its radical "alternative", is still in the process of completion. If it is going to achieve its objective, it needs an independent vocabulary linked with social justice, social reconstruction and social reforms. Furthermore, Realist criminology will also need to reinvent a causative theory of criminal behaviour, to answer the laymen's question: "What causes crime?"

All the theoretical orientations that have so far been discussed were formulated to attempt to answer the question: Why do some people break the law and/or persist in deviancy?

Now, we turn to a very different theoretical orientation that is designed to answer the question: Why don't we all break the law?

Social Control Theory

Contemporary social control theory and its various versions can be seen in the works of Thrasher (1927), Shaw et al (1929), Shaw And McKay (1931), Reiss (1951), Toby (1957) Nye (1958), Matza (1964), Brian and Piliavin (1965), Reckless (1962, 1967), Hirschi (1969), Kornnhauser (1978), Box (1981), Roshier (1989), and Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990). However, in the following discussion I will briefly mention only those works that are more directly related to the presently dominant version of social control theory - Hirschi's (1969), version - which forms the theoretical framework for the present study of deviance in a sample of Pakistani boys in Edinburgh.

In the early 1950's Albert Reiss asserted that delinquency was a direct consequence of the failure of personal and social controls. Reiss (1951:196) defined personal control as "ability of the individual to refrain from meetings needs in ways which conflict with the norms and rules of the community". For Reiss a central point with regards to the development of personal controls was internalisation of the community's norms - a voluntary acceptance of them rather than submission to them. He expands on this adding that personal control included:

"(a) mature ego ideals or non-delinquent social roles, i.e., internalised controls of social group expectations, and (b) appropriate and flexible rational controls over behaviour which permits conscious guidance of action in accordance with non-delinquent group expectations."

(Reiss 1951 : 203)

Reiss's personal control was closely linked to his social control. Reiss (1951 : 196) defined the latter as "the ability of social groups or institutions to make norms or rules effective". He placed strong emphasis in this regard on the effectiveness of the family, the school and the neighbourhood in providing the social, material and emotional needs of the child. Family, for Reiss, was the most important primary group for the development of personal control and for the exercise of social control over the child's behaviour:

"The child develops appropriate personal controls and the family exercises contra delinquent social control over the child's behaviour when the family milieu is structured so that the child identifies with family members who represent roles of conformity with non-delinquent norms and accepts the norms and rules embodied in these roles. Such families are socio-psychological unity oriented toward establishment and maintenance of non-delinquent behaviour for its members."

(Reiss 1951 : 198)

It is clear from Reiss's analysis that personal and social controls are closely interlinked and reinforce one another.

In 1957 Jackson Toby proposed the concept of "stake in conformity" as an important variable in controlling delinquency. He argues that youngsters who perform well in school, successfully move from grade to grade and who aspire to high-status occupations have stake in conformity. Youngsters with "stake in conformity" may not only be punished by committing crimes, they may also be risking their existing achievements. Youngsters who do not have such "stake in conformity" risk losing little by committing delinquent acts. Toby further adds that:

". . . Youngsters vary in the extent to which they feel a stake in American society. For those with social honour, disgrace is a powerful sanction. For a boy disapproved of already, there is less incentive to resist the temptation to do what he want when he want to do it"

(Toby 1957 : 16)

Toby not only explains a mechanism of incentive to conformity but he also adds a rational component to criminological social control theory. His delinquent is a reasoning individual who weighs up the costs of committing a delinquent act and the benefits that is expected from it.

Ivan Nye shared Albert Reiss's view of the crucial role of the family in controlling delinquency. Nye (1958), in his analysis of family relationships and delinquent behaviour, suggested that the family was the most important of societal institutions that integrates the adolescent to the social order of society. He argued that the family as an important agency of social control represented society because it was the most appropriate social milieu within which the various forms of controls over the child's behaviour developed. In this context Nye (1958 : 5 - 8) suggested a four-fold typology of controls (1) "direct control", (2) "internalised control", (3) "indirect

control" and (4) "control through alternative means of need satisfaction." The first refers to the various measures of surveillance, restrictions and punishments. The second to the effective internalisation of norms which is internally exercised through what is referred to as conscience by some scholars. The third type, Nye says, is related to affectionate identification and attachments to parents, teachers and non-criminal friends. Finally about the fourth type Nye (1958 : 8) stresses that "if all the needs of the individual could be met adequately without delay, without violating law, there will be no point in such violation, and a minimum of internal, indirect, and direct control would suffice to secure conformity." Nye implies that the availability of alternative sources of needs satisfaction is the most important form of control over the individual's behaviour.

Nye furthermore adds that despite the fact that the four types of control operate independently, they are closely interrelated and mutually reinforce one another. He argues that positive identification with parents and attachment to them facilitate both voluntary acceptance of and submission to their "direct controls". This process of integration into the familial unit leads to the internalisation of parental expectations or "internal control". Nye argues that the family equips the adolescent with the legitimate means and skills for his/her needs satisfaction in the wider societal realm. This in turn subjects the adolescent to further societal rules and regulations. Thus, the mutual reinforcement between integration and regulation can greatly control delinquency and deviance.

Three years after the publication of Nye's *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behaviour* Walter Reckless (1961 [and 1967]) proposed a new version of social control theory that he named "Containment Theory". Reckless argued that contemporary man in his quickly changing, urbanised and highly fluid social world is more than ever exposed to pressures (conditions associated with poverty, relative deprivations, conflict and discord, limited access to success in an opportunity structure etc.), pulls (patterns of deviance, carriers of delinquent patterns, propaganda, mass media etc.) and to pushes (frustrations, disappointments, inferiority feelings, hostility etc.). Aligned against the pressures, pulls and pushes, Reckless argued are the forces of internal and external containments that control individuals from moving in the direction of crime and delinquency.

External containment, according to Reckless (1967 : 470-71) consists of the internalisation of rules which is dependent on the availability of meaningful roles and group reinforcement. Internal containment, Reckless (1967 : 475 : 76) argues,

consists of a favourable self-concept, goal orientation, frustration tolerance and the retention of norms. The author of containment theory stressed that strong external and internal containments greatly reduce individuals' chances of involvement in crime and delinquency.

In the late 1960's Travis Hirschi proposed a more refined and empirically grounded version of social control theory. Unlike Walter Reckless's containment theory that placed stronger emphasis on the psychological and personality aspects of social control, Hirschi's position was more sociological and social psychological. In his *Causes of Delinquency* Hirschi (1969) asserted that an individual is more likely to break the rule of society when his/her social bond to its conventional order is weak or broken. Hirschi suggests that the social bond comprises four fundamental elements: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief.

Attachment refers to the affective ties that an individual, particularly the youth, forms to "significant others" i.e., parents, teachers and conventional friends. To the extent the youth is attached to "significant others" he/she is to that extent sensitive to their thoughts, feelings and expectations, and therefore he/she is bound by the pro-conformity opinions of parents, teachers and conventional friends. The less attached youth is relatively free from such constraints, Hirschi contends. From this viewpoint attachment is dependent on going social relationships, and therefore its intensity varies in accordance to the fluctuating relationships between individuals.

Commitment, according to Hirschi, refers to the social (and psychological and even economic) investments that the youth makes in a legitimate line of action. It is similar to what Toby (1957) called "stake in conformity". The youth who has invested time, energy and even money in educational activities and who aspires for high-status job has "stake in conformity". Thus commitment is a matter of rational calculation between potential gains and losses. The youth contemplating a deviant act, Hirschi (1969 : 20) says "must [first] consider the costs of this deviant behaviour, the risk he runs of losing the investments he has made in conventional behaviour". Therefore the youth who has little or no investments in a conventional line of action is relatively freer to deviate.

Involvement, Hirschi argues, is the extent of the individual's participation in legitimate activities which means that they have no time for committing deviant acts. However, Hirschi stresses that involvement is effective in controlling delinquency only when it strengthens an individual's social bond to society's conventional order -

not merely involvement in all kinds of time-consuming activities. Thus, the youth who regularly attends his classes and spends sufficient time on homework and on other school-related activities is not only kept busy to commit deviant acts, but these activities also prepare him/her for success in attaining educational goals that further strengthen his/her social bond to society's conventional order.

Finally, belief refers to the acceptance of society's rules and norms as legitimate and valid. It is the extent to which the individual sees society's rule as binding on his/her behaviour. Hirschi argues that the deviant does not hold beliefs that are fundamentally different from those of the law-abiding citizens. Instead, his/her deviance is made possible by holding the prevailing beliefs in a reduced amount or by their complete absence. Thus, the less an individual believes in the society's rules the more likely he/she is to break them.

Hirschi's data showed that the four elements of the social bond closely interact with each other. The data showed, as Hirschi (1969 : 200) put it, that "the chain of causation is thus from attachment to parents, through concern for the approval of persons in positions of authority, to belief that the rules of society are binding on one's conduct". This clearly shows that the various elements of the social bond are not independent from each other; instead they are closely interlinked.

More recently Travis Hirschi, writing with Michael Gottfredson (1990), proposed another theory of *self control* in their *A General Theory of Crime*.

However, Gottfredson and Hirschi's narrowly-focused psychologism does not expand or refine Hirschi's (1969) earlier influential social control theory which has a central place in modern criminological theory. The former has little to do with the latter.

Finally it must be mentioned that among British criminologists Steven Box (1981) has significantly contributed to Hirschi's (1969) version of social control theory. Box has not only further elaborated the elements of social bond (though Box does not mention "involvement" at all he presumably merges "involvement" with "commitment" as the former is the behavioural counterpart of the latter), But he has added that weak/broken social bond only produces "willingness" to deviate. Box argues that "willingness" to deviate needs to be accompanied by some special circumstances in order to result in deviant behaviour:

"In order for willingness to be transformed into deviant forms of behaviour, there needs to be a coalescence of special circumstances coupled with situational temptations sufficient to induce those who are willing to do it to go right ahead and do it" (Box : 1971 : 150).

Box adds that the issues regarding special circumstances and situations are related to: "secrecy", "skills" "supply", "social and symbolic support". However, he acknowledges that a precise explanation of these special circumstances and situations are beyond the domain of criminological theory. He accepts that the strength of social bond remains to explain the likelihood of an individual's deviating or not. Thus Box shares with Hirschi and other social control theorists social control theory's central question, "Why don't we all commit crime?". This question draws the discussion closer to examining the fundamental assumptions of criminological social control theory about human nature and social order.

Fundamental assumptions

All the criminological writers whose theories were discussed under the subtitle "Major Trends In Contemporary Criminological Theory" implicitly or explicitly share the assumption that individuals normally conform to society's rules unless they are driven by some special forces to break the rules. These special forces varied according to different theoretical positions; they may be deprivation or relative deprivation, status anxiety, subcultural socialisation, negative self-concept, alienation and sense of injustice etc. Thus, conformity for these writers is taken for granted; it is crime and deviance that needs to be explained.

Control theorists take the opposite position. They assume that individuals have a natural tendency to break rules and are free to do so unless they are constrained by special forces to conform. Since human beings have the natural freedom to break rules, control theorists argue, it is their conformity that needs explanation. Early control theorists attributed the inherent tendency of individuals to commit crime to "animal impulses". Modern proponents of control theory, however, do not use "animal impulses" as part of their explanation of crime and deviance. Instead they see this tendency of individuals as inbuilt in human conditions and in social order:

There is ample motivation for every one to deviate; for the scarcity of means relative to wants makes unfulfilled desires inevitable for everyone. Since need frustration is a chronic condition of humanity, there is always the temptation to use non-normative means.

(Kornhauser 1987 : 47)

Since non-normative means (or crime and deviance) provide easier and quicker ways for need gratifications all individuals feel the temptation to use them. This view of human nature is shared by Howard Becker (1963 : 26) who says that "it is much more likely that most people experience deviant impulses frequently. At least in fantasy, people are much more deviant than they appear". Obviously, this is not to say that individuals are born wicked or evil. Instead the assumption is that individuals are born morally neutral; they have the freedom to involve themselves in a variety of behaviours including crime and deviance. It is from this point that the control theorists further proceeds and argues that the same conditions of human society that makes deviance attractive for every one, at the same time, attempt to restrict individuals' natural freedoms so that there is no "war of all against all". Society, through cultural indoctrination, the magic of love and affection, promises of material and social rewards and sometimes through the threat of punishment attempts to bond individuals to certain sets of norms and patterns of behaviour, and therefore control their natural freedom. However, either because of man's active nature of receiving culture or because of the inefficiency and inadequacy of social bonding society's attempts succeed to varying degrees. As Kornhauser (1987 : 47) put it "not all children are equally socialised or have equally strong attachments to family, school and community". Thus, since the tendency to deviate is relatively constant but the forces that produce conformity vary across individuals, it is the latter that needs explanation.

The other fundamental assumption on which control theory is based is the existence of a degree of consensus of values or an extent of shared morality among members of society. The control theorist argues, that all, or at least the overwhelming majority, of society's members share the core societal values whose existence is essential for the orderly survival of society. For example, it is hard to imagine a society where members do not share their disapproval of cannibalism, murder, theft and the like. Likewise individual safety, economic sufficiency, freedom etc. are values that are positively approved by members of society. Such shared values constitute the basis of social and legal order of human societies.

However, this is not to say that the control theorists assume that all societal values are shared throughout the society. They do not rule out the existence of various subcultures in society. It is recognised that youth subculture, subcultures of certain occupational, ethnic or religious groups in a national society may have somewhat different life-styles and values. But this does not mean that these sub-cultures are

completely cut-off from and/or are oppositional to the normative order to the wider society. Instead members of societal subcultural groups do share core societal values. Empirical research have since long supported this argument. For example, Thrasher (1927) in his relatively old but well-reputed and influential study *The Gang* found that despite their disobedience to society's conventional moral values gang-members were not totally opposed to these values, and shared many of them. Similarly Gordon et al (1963), Lerman (1968) and Hirschi (1969) found that delinquents, lower class and middle class youth all prefer most conventional values over deviant values. Also Syke and Matza's (1957) study showed that many delinquents feel guilt and shame about their delinquent acts.

Furthermore, in support of this position it is worth mentioning that in modern society the extension of societal educational institutions, the extraordinary development of the mass-media, transportation and the national participation in societal cultural and political life are all the forces that strengthen societal culture at the expense of sub-cultures. These forces contribute to a degree of sharedness of societal values. It is on the basis of this argument that social control theory uses "conventional order" of society as a key concept in explaining crime and deviance.

Finally, it should be added that apart from a solid basis of social control theory in philosophy and social theory (see Downes and Rock 1982 and Lilly et al 1989), it is one of the most popular and empirically testable criminological theories. As one influential criminologist concludes:

To the more definitive formulation of control models, to the more adequate linking of macro-social and micro-social control theories, and to their more rigorous testing, the study of delinquency might profitably turn.

(Kornhauser 1978 : 253)

Indeed, the existing body of empirical criminological evidence is the witness of what Kornhauser says. Thus, the question, 'Why don't we all commit crime' remains important in understanding crime and deviance. It is a question that needs to be taken seriously and which needs to be further explored.

APPENDIX ii

QUESTIONNAIRE, SCORING SHEET, AND CODING INDEX

Serial No. _____

Date _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

Edinburgh Youth Study
Faculty of Law
Edinburgh University
Old College, Edinburgh

Dear respondent :

This questionnaire is a part of my Ph.D. project that focuses on Edinburgh's Asian community, particularly, on the problems of its youngsters. To reach academically sound results much depends on your co-operation in responding as honestly as possible to the questions and ideas that you will be reading now. Beside their academic value, these results will be useful for your better understanding of your community, the problems of its youngsters and for finding solutions for these problems. Meanwhile, I assure you that your responses will be kept confidential.

Thank you

A. Ali Wardak

1. IN WHICH SCHOOL DO YOU STUDY? _____

2. WHAT YEAR ARE YOU IN? _____

3. HOW OLD ARE YOU? _____

4. WHEN DID YOUR FAMILY COME TO BRITAIN _____ (year)

5. DID YOUR FAMILY COME TO EDINBURGH FIRST?

NO _____ YES _____ IT CAME TO EDINBURGH IN _____ (year)

6. WERE YOU BORN IN BRITAIN?

YES _____ (British city/town)

NO, I WAS BORN IN _____ (city/town/village
overseas) AND CAME TO BRITAIN WHEN I WAS _____ YEARS OLD.

NOW YOU WILL FIND VARIOUS OTHER QUESTIONS. A QUESTION MAY HAVE TWO, THREE OR MORE POSSIBLE ANSWERS. FOR EACH QUESTION, PLEASE SELECT ONLY ONE ANSWER CATEGORY THAT APPLIES BEST TO YOUR SITUATION. HOWEVER, THERE ARE EXCEPTIONS IN TWO PLACES (QUESTIONS: 14 and 26) WHERE YOU WILL BE TOLD THAT YOU CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE ANSWER CATEGORY.

7. DO YOU LIVE WITH YOUR:

A: real father and real mother _____

B: real father and step-mother _____

C: real mother and step-father _____

D: mother only _____

E: father only _____

F: with person(s) other than the above (who) _____

8. CAN YOUR PARENTS READ AND WRITE?

YES _____

A: both of them _____

B: only your father _____

C: only your mother _____

NO (neither of them) _____

9. IF ONE OR BOTH OF YOUR PARENTS CAN READ AND WRITE, HOW MUCH EDUCATION DOES HE/SHE HAVE? (Please tick (✓) the separate spaces provided for each father and mother, as appropriate).

	FATHER	MOTHER
A: informal education	_____	_____
B: primary	_____	_____
C: secondary	_____	_____
D: college/university	_____	_____

10. WHAT KIND OF WORK ARE YOUR PARENTS DOING NOW?

Please specify WHAT they do and WHERE they work? Examples: shopkeeper in your own shop, salesman in another person's shop, or housewife at your home. If one or both of them are unemployed, please mention that. (Please tick (✓) the separate spaces provided for each father and mother, as appropriate).

FATHER	MOTHER
What he does? _____	What she does? _____
Where he works? _____	Where she works? _____

11. ARE YOU LIVING NOW IN:

- A: a flat/house that your family owns _____
- B: a flat/house that your family rents _____
- C: a council house _____
- D: a youth hostel _____
- E: other(where) _____

12. HOW MANY BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE? _____

A: brothers _____

B: sisters _____

13. AMONG YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS, ARE YOU:

A: the oldest of them all _____

B: in the middle (or somewhere in the middle) _____

C: the youngest of them all _____

14. DO YOU HAVE RELATIVES LIVING IN BRITAIN? (YOU CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE ANSWER CATEGORY)

YES _____ NO _____ (IF 'NO' GO TO QUESTION 18)

IF YES, WHAT RELATIVES ARE THEY?:

A: grandfather _____

B: grandmother _____

C: uncle _____

D: aunt _____

E: cousin _____

F: other(s) (who)? _____

15. ARE ANY OF YOUR RELATIVES LIVING WITH YOU AT YOUR HOME?

YES _____ NO _____

IF YES, WHICH RELATIVES? _____

16. THOSE OF YOUR RELATIVES WHO ARE NOT LIVING WITH YOU, ARE MOST OF THEM LIVING:

A: near you in Edinburgh(in the same neighbourhood) _____

B: away from you in Edinburgh(in a different neighbourhood) _____

C: elsewhere in Britain _____

17. HOW OFTEN DO YOU SEE YOUR RELATIVES IN EDINBURGH?

A: several times a week _____

B: about once a week _____

C: about once a month _____

D: only on some major occasions such as Eids, weddings, funerals etc. _____

E: hardly see each other _____

18. HOW OFTEN DO YOU SHARE YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS WITH YOUR MOTHER? WOULD YOU SAY:

A: always _____

B: often _____

C: sometimes _____

D: hardly ever _____

19. HOW IMPORTANT IS YOUR MOTHER'S ADVICE TO YOU? WOULD YOU SAY THAT IT IS:

A: very important _____

B: fairly important _____

C: not very important _____

D: not important at all _____

20. HOW CLOSE DO YOU FEEL TO YOUR MOTHER? WOULD YOU SAY:

A: very close _____

B: fairly close _____

C: not very close _____

D: I do not feel close to my mother at all _____

21. HOW OFTEN DO YOU SHARE YOUR THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS WITH YOUR FATHER? WOULD YOU SAY:

A: always _____

B: often _____

C: sometimes _____

D: hardly ever _____

22. HOW IMPORTANT IS YOUR FATHER'S ADVICE TO YOU? WOULD YOU SAY THAT IT IS:

- A: very important _____
- B: fairly important _____
- C: not very important _____
- D: not important at all _____

23. HOW MUCH WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE THE KIND OF PERSON YOUR FATHER IS? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: in every way _____
- B: in most ways _____
- C: in some ways _____
- D: not at all _____

NOW HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS THAT COMBINE BOTH FATHER AND MOTHER IN ONE SENTENCE. BUT THERE ARE SEPARATE ANSWER CATEGORIES PROVIDED FOR EACH PARENT. PLEASE TICK (✓) ONE APPROPRIATE SPACE FOR EACH PARENT.

24. DO YOUR PARENTS KNOW WHERE YOU ARE WHEN YOU ARE AWAY FROM HOME FOR RECREATION? DO YOU THINK THAT:

	FATHER	MOTHER
A: he/she always knows	_____	_____
B: he/she often knows	_____	_____
C: he/she sometimes knows	_____	_____
D: he/she does not care about my whereabouts when I am away from home	_____	_____
E: he/she does not allow me to go out for recreation unless I am accompanied by him/her or close relatives	_____	_____
F: he/she does not allow me to go for recreation at all	_____	_____

25. DO YOUR PARENTS KNOW WHO YOU ARE WITH WHEN YOU ARE AWAY FROM HOME FOR RECREATION? DO YOU THINK THAT:

	FATHER	MOTHER
A: he/she always knows	_____	_____
B: he/she often knows	_____	_____
C: he/she sometimes knows	_____	_____
D: he/she does not care about who I am with when I am away from home for recreation	_____	_____
E: he/she does not allow me to go out for recreation with persons other than themselves or close relatives	_____	_____
F: he/she does not allow me to go for recreation at all	_____	_____

26. WHEN YOU DO SOMETHING THAT IS WRONG IN YOUR PARENTS' VIEW, DO THEY: (YOU CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE CATEGORY))

	FATHER	MOTHER
A: slap/hit you	_____	_____
B: threaten to throw you out of home	_____	_____
C: call you bad names	_____	_____
D: advise and encourage you not to repeat it	_____	_____
E: ignore it	_____	_____
F: does not bother about it	_____	_____

27. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE KIND OF DISCIPLINE YOUR PARENTS USE? DO YOU THINK THEY ARE:

	FATHER	MOTHER
A: too strict	_____	_____
B: just fair	_____	_____
C: too lax (loose)	_____	_____

NOW HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SCHOOL. IN QUESTIONS NO.28, 29 AND 30 THE TERM SCHOOL REFERS TO EACH OF YOUR LOCAL SCHOOL AND TO YOUR MOSQUE SCHOOL. EVERY ONE OF THESE QUESTIONS HAS SEPARATE ANSWER CATEGORIES FOR EACH OF THE TWO SCHOOLS. SO PLEASE TICK (✓) ONE APPROPRIATE ANSWER CATEGORIES FOR EACH OF YOUR LOCAL AND MOSQUE SCHOOL.

28. IN GENERAL, DO YOU LIKE SCHOOL? WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU:

	THE LOCAL SCHOOL	THE MOSQUE SCHOOL
A: like it in every way	_____	_____
B: like it in most ways	_____	_____
C: like it in some ways	_____	_____
D: dislike like it	_____	_____

29. HOW DO YOU RATE YOURSELF IN SCHOOL ABILITY AS COMPARED TO THE OTHERS IN YOUR CLASS? DO YOU THINK THAT YOU ARE:

	IN LOCAL SCHOOL	IN MOSQUE SCHOOL
A: among the best	_____	_____
B: above average	_____	_____
C: average	_____	_____
D: below average	_____	_____
E: among the worst	_____	_____

30. DURING THE PAST SCHOOL YEAR FOR HOW MANY DAYS HAD YOU BEEN ABSENT FROM SCHOOL, BECAUSE YOU HAD IMPORTANT WORK TO DO AT YOUR HOME/SHOP? WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU HAD BEEN ABSENT FOR:

	FROM LOCAL SCHOOL	FROM MOSQUE SCHOOL
A: more than three weeks	_____	_____
B: about two weeks	_____	_____
C: less than a week	_____	_____
D: never	_____	_____

31. HOW WERE YOUR MARKS IN YOUR CLASS (in the local school) LAST YEAR? DID YOU GET:

A: mostly As _____

B: mostly As and Bs _____

C: mostly Bs _____

D: mostly Bs and Cs _____

E: mostly Cs _____

F: mostly Cs and Ds _____

G: mostly Ds _____

32. ON AVERAGE, HOW LONG EACH DAY DO YOU SPEND ON YOUR HOMEWORK, OUTSIDE SCHOOL. DO YOU THINK THAT YOU SPEND:

A: more than four hours _____

B: about two hours _____

C: less than one hour _____

D: you are hardly given any homework _____

33. HOW OFTEN DO YOU FEEL THAT 'THERE IS NOTHING TO DO'? WOULD YOU SAY:

A: often _____

B: sometimes _____

C: rarely _____

D: never _____

34. HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE? DO YOU THINK THAT YOU SPEAK IT:

A: very well _____

B: well _____

C: fair _____

THE FOLLOWING QUESTION(No.35) IS ABOUT YOUR TEACHERS IN BOTH THE LOCAL SCHOOL AND IN THE MOSQUE SCHOOL. AGAIN, SEPARATE ANSWER CATEGORIES ARE PROVIDED FOR TEACHERS IN EACH OF THE TWO SCHOOLS. PLEASE TICK (✓) ONE APPROPRIATE SPACE FOR EACH OF THEM.

35. DO YOU CARE WHAT YOUR TEACHERS THINK OF YOU? WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU CARE:

	IN LOCAL SCHOOL	IN MOSQUE SCHOOL
A: very much	_____	_____
B: a lot	_____	_____
C: not very much	_____	_____
D: not at all	_____	_____

36. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT GOING TO UNIVERSITY(or other institutions of higher and professional education) AFTER YOUR SECONDARY SCHOOL? WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU:

- A: want and plan to go _____
- B: want to go but do not know if you will _____
- C: want to go but will probably not go _____
- D: do not want to go and you are sure that you will not go _____

37. THINK ABOUT THE BEST FRIENDS THAT YOU HAVE GOT. ARE THEY:

- A: all Pakistanis _____
 - B: mostly Pakistanis _____
 - C: all whites _____
 - D: mostly whites _____
 - E: about half Pakistanis and half whites _____
 - F: others(who?): (please specify whether all, most, or half of your best friends are in this category. If all of your friends are not in this category, please specify that who are the rest?
- _____
- _____
- _____

38. HOW IMPORTANT ARE YOUR FRIENDS IN YOUR LIFE? WOULD YOU SAY
THAT THEY ARE:

- A: very important _____
- B: fairly important _____
- C: not very important _____
- D: not important at all _____

39. HOW OFTEN DO YOU RESPECT YOUR BEST FRIENDS' OPINION ABOUT THE
IMPORTANT THINGS IN YOUR LIFE? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: always _____
- B: often _____
- C: sometimes _____
- D: hardly ever _____

40. HOW MUCH WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE THE KIND OF PERSON YOUR BEST FRIENDS
ARE? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: in every way _____
- B: in most ways _____
- C: in some ways _____
- D: not at all _____

41. AMONG YOUR BEST FRIENDS, HAS ANY ONE HAD TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE OR
BEEN TO THE 'CHILDREN'S HEARING'? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: none _____
- B: one _____
- C: two or three _____
- D: more than three _____

42. AMONG YOUR BEST FRIENDS, HAS ANY ONE BEEN SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL?
WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: none _____
- B: one _____
- C: two or three _____
- D: more than three _____

43. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT PAKISTANI BOYS HAVING GIRLFRIENDS? DO YOU THINK THAT IT:
- A: is alright _____
 - B: is alright if the idea is JUST- friendship or intention of marriage _____
 - C: is alright if the girl is Pakistani _____
 - D: is alright if the girl is white _____
 - E: is wrong _____
44. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT PAKISTANI GIRLS WEARING WESTERN CLOTHES? DO YOU THINK THAT:
- A: there is nothing wrong with it _____
 - B: there is nothing wrong with it as long as it is decent _____
 - C: it is wrong _____
 - D: I do not have an exact idea about it _____
45. WHAT KIND OF PERSON WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO MARRY (when you are an adult)? WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO MARRY:
- A: a Pakistani girl brought up in Pakistan _____
 - B: a Pakistani girl brought up in Britain _____
 - C: a white girl _____
 - D: other(who?) _____
46. IN WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WAYS WOULD YOU LIKE TO MARRY? WOULD YOU LIKE TO MARRY BY:
- A: your parents' choice as they regard a girl suitable for you _____
 - B: your parents' choice with leaving you the right to say no _____
 - C: your own choice with leaving your parents the right to say no _____
 - D: your choice alone _____
47. HOW IMPORTANT IS THE IDEA OF FAMILY 'IZZET' (HONOUR) TO YOU, PERSONALLY? WOULD YOU SAY THAT IT IS:
- A: extremely important _____
 - B: fairly important _____
 - C: not very important _____
 - D: unimportant _____

48. HOW MUCH OF THE TIME DO YOU FEEL PROUD OF BEING A PAKISTANI IN THIS COUNTRY? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: all the time _____
- B: most of the time _____
- C: half of the time _____
- D: only once in a while _____
- E: almost never _____

49. HOW MUCH OF THE TIME DO YOU THINK THAT YOU ARE A 'GOOD BOY'? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: all the time _____
- B: most of the time _____
- C: half of the time _____
- D: once in a while _____
- E: almost never _____

50. HOW MUCH OF THE ISLAMIC TEACHINGS DO YOU THINK WE SHOULD FOLLOW IN OUR DAILY LIVES, IN THIS COUNTRY? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: all Islamic teachings from A to Z (Fardz, Vajib, Sunnah & Mustahab) _____
- B: the major Islamic teachings (Fardz and Vajib) _____
- C: only those of the Islamic teachings that involve rituals and ceremonies (which are part of our cultural identity) such as ceremonies on Eids, marriage, funeral, etc. _____
- D: It is no longer necessary for us to follow Islamic teachings _____

51. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT: 'ONE MUST ALWAYS BE HONEST WITH ALL PEOPLE'. DO YOU:

- A: strongly agree _____
- B: agree _____
- C: disagree _____
- D: strongly disagree _____

52. HOW GUILTY DO YOU FEEL WHEN YOU DO SOME DISHONESTY, EVEN TO A STRANGER?

WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: extremely guilty ____
- B: quite guilty ____
- C: not very guilty ____
- D: not guilty at all ____

53. OTHER THAN FOR YOUR 'SABAQ', HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO TO THE MOSQUE(for praying or/and other gatherings)? WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: more than once a week ____
- B: only for *Jom'a* prayer ____
- C: only for some major occasions (such as Eids, Milad-un-nabi etc.) ____
- D: I hardly ever go ____

54. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TREATED BADLY BECAUSE OF YOUR RACE/COLOUR?

YES ____ NO ____

IF YES, HOW OFTEN HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED THIS KIND OF TREATMENT?
WOULD YOU SAY:

- A: almost every day ____
- B: about once or twice a week ____
- C: about once or twice a month ____
- D: about once or twice in several months ____
- E: never ____

55. PLEASE DESCRIBE THE KIND OF BAD TREATMENT THAT YOU HAVE EXPERIENCED MOST FREQUENTLY. For example, verbal abuse, starring, physical attack, other.

MANY RESEARCHERS SHOW THAT WHEN WE ARE YOUNG WE DO LOTS OF THINGS THAT WE MAY NOT LIKE TO DO WHEN WE ARE WELL GROWN-UP. FOR EXAMPLE WHEN WE GET ANGRY WE FIGHT WITH ANOTHER BOY, OR WHEN WE DON'T HAVE A BICYCLE AND NEED ONE VERY MUCH WE SOMETIMES TAKE ANOTHER PERSON'S WITHOUT HIS/HER PERMISSION. HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS OF THIS KIND I WOULD LIKE YOU TO ANSWER. PLEASE ANSWER THEM AS HONESTLY AND TRUTHFULLY AS POSSIBLE. AS I ASSURED YOU AT THE BEGINNING, NO ONE WILL KNOW ABOUT YOUR ANSWERS. THE PURPOSE IS JUST ACADEMIC RESEARCH THAT WILL MEANWHILE HELP US IN SOLVING OUR YOUTH PROBLEMS.

IN THE PAST YEAR:

56. HAVE YOU EVER BROKEN THE WINDOWS OF BUILDINGS OR CAUSED DAMAGE TO ANY OTHER PROPERTY, ON PURPOSE?

- A: more than three times _____
- B: two or three times _____
- C: only once _____
- D: never _____

57. HAVE YOU EVER DELIBERATELY LEFT A CAFE OR RESTAURANT WITHOUT PAYING?

- A: more than three times _____
- B: two or three times _____
- C: only once _____
- D: never _____

58. HAVE YOU EVER, ON PURPOSE, KNOCKED ANYONE DOWN?

A: more than three times ____

B: two or three times ____

C: only once ____

D: never ____

59. HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN PART IN A FIGHT WHERE A BUNCH OF YOUR FRIENDS ARE AGAINST ANOTHER BUNCH?

A: more than three times ____

B: two or three times ____

C: only once ____

D: never ____

60. HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN THINGS OF SOME VALUE (say over 5 in value) THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU WITHOUT THE OWNER'S PERMISSION?

A: more than three times ____

B: two or three times ____

C: only once ____

D: never ____

61. HAVE YOU EVER USED FORCE OR THREAT OF FORCE TO GET MONEY OR SOMETHING YOU WANT FROM A PERSON?

A: more than three times ____

B: two or three times ____

C: only once ____

D: never ____

THE END, AND THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Scoring Sheet

061333331222233bb33332233133101312baec1a33332220addcbcd
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624011011111122bb10212021231111321ccab2c21212210dddbddd
634111111111122bb01111110230101211cbab2c12111119\$bcdccc
644011121111121bc20311032233033322bbaa3d21111110dccdbdd
65411111111112bb11221110131122212bbab2c12111210cbcdbbc

Key To The Scoring-Sheet And Codes

No of Columns in the Scoring-Sheet	Code	Variable, sub-variable, etc.	No of Question in the Questionnaire
C1	no.	The first two digits starting with 06	
C2	type	Typology of the Pilrig boys from type 1-4	
C3	atmoth1	Attachment to mother 1	18
C4	atmoth2	Attachment to mother 2	19
C5	atmoth3	Attachment to mother 3	20
C6	atfath1	Attachment to father 1	21
C7	atfath2	Attachment to father 2	22
C8	atfath3	Attachment to father 3	23
C9	supfath1	Father's supervision 1	24 (father)
C10	supmoth1	Mother's supervision 1	24 (mother)
C11	supfath2	Father's supervision 2	25 (father)
C12	supmoth2	Mother's supervision 2	25 (mother)
C13	discfath3	Father's discipline	26 (father)
C14	discmoth3	Mother's discipline	26 (mother)
C15	discfath	Percpetion of Father's discipline	27 (father)
C16	discmoth	Perception of Mothers' discipline	27 (mother)
C17	atlscol1	Attachment to local school 1	28 (local school)
C18	atmscol1	Attachment to mosque-school 2	28 (mosque-school)
C19	selcon-a	Self-concept a	29 (local school)
C20	selcon-b	Self-concept b	29 (mosque-school)
C21	atlscol2	Attachment to local school	30 (local school)
C22	atmscol2	Attachment to mosque-school 2	30 (mosque-school)
C23	commit1	Commitment 1	31
C24	involv1	Involvement 1	32
C25	involv2	Involvement 2	33
C26	assimi1	assimilation 1	34
C27	atlsco13	Attachment to local school 3	35 (local-school)
C28	atmscol3	Attachment to mosque-school 3	35 (mosque-school)
C29	commit2	Commitment 2	36
C30	assimi2	Assimilation 2	37
C31	atpeer1	Attachment to friends 1	38
C32	atpeer2	Attachment to friends 2	39
C33	atpeer3	Attachment to friends 3	40
C34	delpeer1	Attachment to delinquent friends 1	41
C35	delpeer2	Attachment to delinquent friends 2	42
C36	intrgap1	Intergeneration Gap 1	43
C37	intrgap2	Intergeneration Gap 2	44
C38	assimi3	Assimilation 3	45
C39	intrgap3	Intergeneration Gap 3	46
C40	commit3	Commitment 3	47
C41	selcon2	Self-Concept 2	48
C42	selcon3	Self-Concept 3	49

C43	belief1	Belief 1	50
C44	belief2	Belief 2	51
C45	belief3	Belief 3	52
C46	involv3	Involvement 3	53
C47	racial1	Experience of racial bad treatment	54 (part 1)
C48	racial2	Frequency of experience of racial bad treatment	54 (part 2)
C49	vandal	Breaking windows/damaging property	55 *
C50	theft1	Leaving cafe/restaurant without paying	56
C51	violence1	Knocking someone down, on purpose	57
C52	violence2	Participation in group fighting	58
C53	theft2	Stealing of things of value of more than £5	59
C54	violence3	Use of force or its threat for getting money or other valuables	60

*This is an open-ended question that is not quantifiable. Therefore it is not processed by computer.

APPENDIX iii

METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

Fieldwork Background And The Choice of The Subject

I started my postgraduate studies in Criminology, Edinburgh University in October 1987. I was admitted as a "supervised postgraduate" student with a possible transfer to a doctoral programme. The transfer was conditional and dependent on my "academic progress" in the 1987 - 88 academic session during which I had to follow the MSc. programme in Legal Studies, in the C.C.S.P.S.L. I was required to attend all the weekly three classes (seminars) in "Crime, Law and State", "Punishment, Justice and Control", and "Social Research methods". In addition I was required to write examination essays for each of the three subjects and to work on an "Assessment Paper" (about 30,000 words long), that was to be completed towards the end of the summer term of the academic session. I followed the whole MSc. Programme and submitted the "Assessment paper" that included my research proposal for a doctoral programme, in July 1988. The paper was assessed and orally examined by two (one internal and one external) assessors in September 1988. I was, indeed, delighted when I was told by my supervisors, Dr. Peter Young and (the late) Professor Frederick McClintock that my academic progress was assessed satisfactory and that I was to transfer to a doctoral programme.

My research proposal for the doctoral project involved an empirical study of Juvenile Delinquency among Asian youngsters in Edinburgh. I was interested to conduct the study in the theoretical framework of Walter Reckless's (1961, 1967) "Containment Theory" (See Appendix I). The proposal included four research hypotheses that were to be empirically tested through the use of a structured questionnaire and the use of the "California Personality Inventory" or CPI (the latter was used by Reckless and his colleagues for studying delinquency in the U.S.A.). However, Dr. Peter Young had strong reservations about the proposed research; he called it "empiricism" and the "imposition of a theory" on the population of the proposed study. He suggested that I could conduct the study more fruitfully by doing participant observation and ethnographic research, but, I resisted such suggestions. I believed that a "scientific" study of crime and delinquency was only possible with the use of a quantitative social research method: ethnography for me was only "telling stories" by the participant observer. However, my supervisors did not want to impose their ideas on me; they (reluctantly) "gave me the go ahead" with the proposed research plan.

Thus I started making preparation for fieldwork, and preliminary enquiries about the size, social and cultural characteristics of Edinburgh's "Asian" population. It was at this time that I found that the phrase "Asian Boys" in the proposed research project of juvenile delinquency was too general. According to the available statistical data about Scottish ethnic minority population, substantial numbers of Pakistanis, Indians, Bangladeshis, and Chinese (and also other Asians) lived in Edinburgh. All of these groups were referred to as "Asians". Hence, the population of the Research Proposal was not only too large for a doctoral project, but also the various Asian ethnic populations had different ethnic, cultural and, in most cases, religious backgrounds; also members of each of these groups spoke different languages. Therefore I had to delimit my research project. It was decided that I focus on Edinburgh's Pakistani population, for several reasons:

1. Edinburgh's Pakistani population was the largest of the city's ethnic populations.
2. I had the same religious background - Sunni Islam - as the overwhelming majority of Edinburgh's Pakistani residents
3. I had studied and conducted criminological research for a Master's dissertation in sociology in the Punjab province of Pakistan from where the overwhelming majority of Edinburgh's Pakistani population come. I had familiarity with the Punjabi culture and society.
4. I communicated in Urdu, one of the two national languages of Pakistan which is also spoken by the overwhelming majority of Pakistanis in Edinburgh.

After delimiting the scope of research project to a specific population the next question was, how to practically start doing the fieldwork?

Research Strategy and Making Contacts

At this stage, I had enough general preliminary information about Edinburgh's Pakistani community. I had the addresses and telephone numbers of the various Pakistani organisations, Mosques, and the community leaders. I had found out that there were three Sunni Mosques and a *Madrassa* (a school of Islamic Traditional education) in Edinburgh. I also learnt that the three Mosques each included a part-time Mosque-school that catered for the religious education of Muslim children in Edinburgh. Consequently, I visited all the three Mosque-schools and the *Madrassas* and talked to the *Imam/Hafiz Sahibs* who were teaching in the Mosque-school. We

discussed various aspects of these institutions of Islamic education. All the *Imams* and *Hafiz Sahibs* were friendly and welcoming.

This "Pilot Study" of the four schools for the religious/cultural education of Muslim youngsters showed that the Pilrig Mosque-school catered for the largest number of students (about 120 boys and girls in two separate classes). In addition I found that all the boys and girls in the Pilrig Mosque-school were sons and daughters of Edinburgh's permanent Pakistani residents whereas in the Roxburgh and in the central Mosques-schools significant numbers of them were non-Pakistani Muslims, mainly from the Middle East. (Although the 35 students in the *Madrassa* in Temple Park were also all Pakistani, over a half of them were below the age of 9 - too young for the purpose of my study)

Since the Pilrig Mosque-school catered for a largest and most homogeneous group of Pakistani boys, and since it was comparatively more organised than the other mosque-schools I started my fieldwork there in the first instance. During a meeting with the Hafiz/Sahib (the *Imam* and teacher of Islamic education) and the community leaders in the Pilrig Mosque/Community Centre, I offered to be a voluntary teacher in the Mosque-school. At the same time, I told the community leaders and the *Hafiz Sahib* about my intention of doing a study of young Pakistani boys and their problems, including delinquency, in Edinburgh. *Hafiz Sahib* who communicated in Arabic, was very impressed by my knowledge of Arabic. He suggested that I should give the boys some short lessons in Islamic history, geography of the Muslim world and also to assist him in teaching the principles of Islamic belief system, the five pillars of Islam etc. I was allowed to teach only the boys (about 80 pupils). Finally in November 1988 I started teaching and fieldwork in the Mosque-school.

The Fieldwork

The *Sabaq* classes (lesson of Mosque-based Islamic education) were held every weekday from 2.00pm to 4.00 p.m., and in the mornings on Saturdays in the Pilrig Mosque/community centre that is situated in a working class area in Leith, Edinburgh. I arranged with *Hafiz Sahib* to teach in the mosque school four days a week (every other weekday and Saturdays). Since there was some distance between the Pilrig street and the Pollock Halls of residence where I lived, I bought a second-hand bicycle from a departing Malaysian student. I cycled and taught four days a week in the Pilrig Mosque-school. My aim was to first establish a good rapport with the boys and teacher(s) in the mosque-school. After that, my plan was to devise a

questionnaire based on the seven variables of "containment theory" and then to use it alongside a section of C.P.I. and a self-reported delinquency scale. In a period of about nine months of teaching (which was also participation observation), I wrote extensive notes about the Mosque-school, the boys' "behaviour" and "misbehaviour" and the ways in which they discipline and punish. Also during this period, I became interested in the mosque and its social organisation. My interest extended to the whole Pakistani community and to what they defined as "misbehaviour" and the ways they responded to it. It was at this stage that I suggested to my supervisor that I should change my original research plan from studying Juvenile Delinquency. The new plan was a study of social control and deviance in Edinburgh's Pakistani community. My supervisors, particularly Dr. Peter Young, were very pleased with the new topic. Dr. Young strongly advised me to buy research diaries and "loose files" for making daily notes about my observations in the Mosque-school and in the Pakistani community at large. He also advised me to read Mills's (1959) *Sociological Imagination*, particularly its last part "Intellectual Craftsmanship". I did so. I had also started reading other books on social sciences research methods, such as Ellan's (1984) Ethnographic Research, Seltiz's et al (1965) Research Methods in Social Relations and Dixon's et al (1987) A Handbook of Social Science Research and many articles, particularly by Howard Becker.

At this phase of the fieldwork, as I became more involved in the community, the research became very interesting. I was frequently invited to weddings, parties, celebrations of important cultural occasions and even to funerals. It was these occasions that gave me the most appropriate opportunities for conducting informal interviews with members of the community in a spontaneous and relaxed atmosphere. Most of my respondents were able to speak in English effectively. I communicated with only two elderly men and with some women in Urdu. The main focus of my research in this period was; to find out what were the most important norms in the Mosque-school and in the community that the young Pakistanis were expected to abide by; and the ways in which these norms were communicated through the sermons and preachings in the mosque. My main sources of data were the code of behaviour in the mosque-school, sermons and preachings in the mosque, and observations of the social processes in the every-day life in the community.

After identifying seven fundamental norms that were applicable to young people in the mosque-school and in the Pakistani community at large, I closely focused my observation on those who broke these norms. I prepared a special diary where the names of 65 boys were listed. From August 1989, whenever I observed or was told

by *Hafiz Sahib* or by the students about the violation of a norm by an individual boy I recorded it. Since the boys saw me both as a teacher and a friend as I played sports with them and joined them to discos and *Bhangras* (an Indian/Pakistani version of Western disco) many of them openly told me about their deviations from the community's norm. Those who tried to hide their deviation were subject of gossip by other boys. I marked a tick (✓) against the name of each of the boys for each of their violations of the seven norms. At the same time I wrote notes about the general life-style of each of the 65 boys.

This process of "ticking" and writing ethnographic notes about the boys took me seven months. Yet at the end of this time, I found that there were no sharp distinctions between those who broke the community's norms and those who did not - the whole picture was ambiguous and confusing. Although I was under pressure to complete the fieldwork, I was not satisfied with the data collected by February 1990. I wanted to have enough data on the basis of which I could legitimately discriminate between "deviant" and "non-deviant" boys. I regularly checked the records to find out whether there was a clear distinction between the deviant and the non-deviant boys. After five months of more research and reviewing the total picture of the data, I noticed that there was a continuum of deviation from the seven fundamental norms in the Pilrig sample - from the least deviant to the most deviant. The continuum showed four degrees of deviance. I further analysed these four degrees of deviance in the light of my ethnographic notes about the boys. From this analysis certain patterns of behaviours about the four groups emerged. For example, boys who never or who sometimes violated the seven norms were, by and large obedient persons. General conformity was the dominant feature of all the boys in this category. So I labelled the "conformists". The second categories of the boys who deviated slightly more than the "conformists" showed a pattern of behaviour that was an interesting synthesis between what was seen in the community as "deviant" values and its dominant conventional values. So the label "accommodationists" came from this common pattern of behaviour among this category of the Pilrig boys. The third category of the boys who more frequently violated the seven norms but attempted to hide their deviation. Because they lived a double life-style (predominantly deviant but in appearance conforming) they were labelled "part-time conformists". Finally the dominant feature of the last category of the Pilrig boys who frequently and openly violated the seven norms, was an open rebellion against most of the conventional values of Edinburgh's Pakistani community; and hence I labelled them "rebels". In this way, the four-fold typology of conformists, accommodationists, part-time conformists and rebels emerged.

In order to confirm the validity of the typology I asked *Hafiz Sahib* about the behaviour of all the boys. He named the first two categories (48 boys) as "*Achi Bachin*" (good boys) and the rest 12 boys as *Shararati* (troublemakers). Moreover the last category of boys (rebels) had a reputation of "bad boys" in the community. *Hafiz Sahib's* assessment, that was generally in line with my own categorisation, increased my confidence in the four-fold typology of the Pilrig boys. I was convinced that the deviance of the first two categories was tolerated, while the behaviour of the last two categories was considered as deviance in the mosque and in the community. I had a strong faith in the continuum - from the least deviant to the most - that emerged from the field data. It was at this phase that I decided to devise a questionnaire for collecting quantitative data to explain deviance in the sample.

The Questionnaire And Its Use

In the period of about two years of participant observation in Edinburgh's Pakistani community of which the Mosque-school was only one part I had collected a total of 468 pages of ethnographic data. About half of this data related to the social institutional arrangements and processes constituting the moral and social order of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. The other half of the data related to the various degrees of deviation of the Pilrig boys from the norms of the mosque-school and the community . At this stage the problem was to try to explain the Pilrig boys' deviance within the theoretical framework of "containment theory". However, I found that the variables of the theory overlapped, which made the operationalisation these difficult. The same indices representing one variable (or container) could have been used for another variable. Instead I turned to Travis Hirschi's (1969) social control theory, not only because it was more "testable" but also because it was more applicable to Edinburgh's Pakistani community (see the introduction to Part II of this thesis).

Hirschi's theory had been operationalised and "tested" empirically by many researchers in the United States in other parts of the world. Therefore there were ready-made "measures" or "items" for testing the various elements of the theory. However, I placed much emphasis on operationalising the various elements of Hirschi's theory in the social and cultural context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. Thus, I adopted from Hirschi and other researchers only those measures that were applicable to the social and cultural context of Edinburgh's Pakistani community. In the majority of cases I devised my own measures that were deeply grounded in the social and cultural context of this particular community. For

example, I adopted the item "how often do you share your thoughts and feelings with your father/mother" for measuring attachment to parents. But I devised my own item "how important is your family *Izzet* (Honour) to you personally" as one of three items for measuring "commitment" (social investments in unconventional behaviour).

Thus, in operationalising the four elements of social control theory, each was represented by three separate, but closely connected indices or indicators. Then, on the basis of each indice, a question (or item) and its relevant answer categories were devised to measure ideas and attitudes. These questions formed the main body of the questionnaire. (See the index attached to the questionnaire) However, many other questions that emerged during the two years of participant observation, but which could not be answered by the qualitative research method were also incorporated into the questionnaire. These included general questions about the boy's ages, place of birth, school, friends, watching television, parents, and their occupations and education, family size, frequency of experiencing of racial abuse, etc. In addition a self-reported delinquency scale was also devised. The scale that included six questions about violence, theft and vandalism formed the last part of the questionnaire. In order to make the questionnaire easily readable and quantifiable for statistical analysis it was revised and modified seven times. The eighth version included 58 questions. However, I was still left with the question, was this "final" version a workable instrument for data collection?

In order to test the workability of the questionnaire it was distributed to 10 Pakistani boys. Two of these boys were students in the Pilrig Mosque-school and the other seven were not. (This practice is called by research-oriented sociologists "pre-testing"). The results showed that many respondents did not understand three questions, and one question did not show variation in the response categories. Thus, the questionnaire was revised again. The two ambiguous questions were omitted, and five extra questions were added. Thus the 9th version of the questionnaire that included 61 questions was agreed upon between my supervisors and me to be used as the final workable instrument for data collection.

The Sample And Using The Questionnaire

As I have mentioned the total number of the boys in the Pilrig Mosque was 87 individuals though this number varied. It was also mentioned that I included in the present study only those boys whose age by the time I started recording their

violation of the community's norms was 9 years or above. However, three of the total 65 boys left the Mosque-school (they were expelled) and another two did not clearly fall to any of the four categories that emerged from the data (that is, they frequently violated all the norms of the Mosque-school [as the rebels] but they never or only occasionally violated the community's norms). Thus, the final sample was sixty boys, whose ages ranged from 10-21 years by the time of the use of the questionnaire.

The use of the questionnaire involved a procedure that combined "self-administration" and "interviewing". The questionnaire was given to each individual respondent for completion, while I helped them in cases where they wanted me to elaborate. My presence may have had a negative impact on responding to questions that related to the self-reported delinquency scale on some boys (but most of them trusted the confidentiality I guaranteed). I also wanted to make sure that the respondents understood the questions clearly. Moreover, because I knew much about the students, my presence was useful in completing the questionnaire as honestly as they could.

Within about three weeks all of the sixty questionnaires were completed. In the summer of 1990 when I had all the completed questionnaires on my desk, I felt a great sense of relief; I said to myself, now I have real control over the subject of the research.

Data Analysis

Quantitative data often requires to be scored and coded so that it can be statistically manipulated and analysed. Scoring means the assignment of a recognised number to specific response categories. For example, in the present study most response categories are scored in the order: always = 3, often = 2, sometimes= 1, never = 0. However, the scoring order is always dependant on the specific context of scoring and the logic behind it. This scoring order may be reversed in accordance to the logical basis of a particular question. More or fewer scores may be used according to the number of response categories, or indeed, a completely different scoring order may be used. While all these options are used in the present study, the scoring order is always clearly described in the relevant contexts of analysis in the main text of the thesis.

Coding in the present study is concerned with naming a particular variable or sub-variable with a recognisable code (mainly for the computer). For example, the

variable attachment to father was coded as "atfath". Its three sub- variables were further coded "atfath1". atfath2" and "atfath3". In the questionnaire all of the questions, except 1-17 inclusively, were scored. (see the scoring sheet in appendix iii). Because the first 17 questions were not suitable for computer processing they were manually calculated.

All the scored data were fed into the computer. The feeding of the scores was not only an extremely boring practice but it also required a very high degree of concentration and care. This is because a small error in feeding hundreds of scores (numbers) could seriously distort the statistical results. Because of a possibility of "human error" I had to compare all these scores with their relevant response categories of each question in each of sixty questionnaire once again. I found four errors that were subsequently corrected. (This practice is more easily done by two persons).

After these processes, the data was ready for tabulation and statistical analysis. I had already studied social statistics as a core subject for my Master's degree in sociology. However, I did not have any knowledge of using statistical packages on computer which meant that I had to take special courses that were organised by the university's Computing Service. After four months wait, I registered for a course in the Minitab statistical package, which included statistical manipulation and the analysis of relatively small sizes of data.

I was advised (by a statistician) to use Spearman's r for the statistical calculation of correlations between the various independent and dependent variables and sub-variables in the present study. The data were tabulated by computer and the Spearman's r was calculated. After I had all the statistical results ready I started interpreting and writing them up. After three months, however, I was advised that the Spearman's r was less appropriate to my data and that I should use Kendall's Tau b for correlation coefficient. This was very frustrating. Even more frustrating was that the suggested statistical analysis was not available on the Minitab statistical package that I learned but rather on SPSS-X - a more sophisticated statistical package. So, I first had to reformulate my data to suit the format requirements of the SPSS-X. At this stage I was helped by the statistical staff of the university's computing service in the application of Kendall's Tau B on SPSS-X. The statistical formula for Kendall's Tau B is:

$$Tb = \frac{S}{\frac{1}{2} N(N-1) T + \frac{1}{2} N(N-1) U}$$

It should also be mentioned that because of relatively small size of the sample of the present study, some difficulties regarding the statistical analysis of the data arose: namely some of the tables had empty cells. This could have affected the precision of the statistical results. To overcome this problem, all 4x4 tables were converted into 2x4 tables. This is to say that two columns of scores were collapsed, and then Kendall's test of correlation coefficient was applied by computer. These statistical manipulations of the data showed whether two variables were correlated or not. Moreover the data were tabulated in such a way as to show the percentages related to various numbers. In fact the distribution of the data in a particular table and their correspondent percentages can give a picture of the relationships between two variables. However, the strength or weakness of these relationships are confirmed by their correspondent figures of correlation coefficient.

The three degrees of the strength of correlations ("very strong", "moderately strong", "weak/lack of correlation") between the independent and dependent variables were based on these criterion : all the figures of correlation coefficient were "sorted" by computer. One third of all these figures were in the category - 0.35 and above; the second third included figures between - 0.34 and - 0.20, and last third included figures that were below the figure -0.20. On this basis the first category figure of correlation coefficients was labelled as "very strong"; the second as "moderately strong" and the third category as "weak/lack of correlation".

In relation to this point, it should be added that because the sample of the present study is not a random sample (that is it is not drawn from a population, but is the total population), it is difficult to count on the level of significance in drawing reliable conclusions about the significance or insignificance of correlations between variables. However, levels of significance in the present study often correspond to the varying figures of correlation coefficient; whenever the correlation figure is in the category that is labelled as "very strong" the corresponding levels of significance are also very high (around 0.000); when the correlation figure is in the "moderately strong" category, the corresponding levels of significance are above 0.05) that are considered significant. The correlation figures that are below -0.20 have corresponding levels of significance below .05, which often indicates insignificant correlation when the sample is randomly drawn from a population. This

seems to further support the three degrees of the correlation coefficients that are used in this study.

Writing Up

By spring 1991, I had 653 pages of ethnographic field-notes and a large roll of the statistical data that was based on 60 questionnaires. Though I had already made preliminary analysis of the ethnographic data, (mainly related to institutional and normative order of Edinburgh's Pakistani community) the statistical analysis of the quantitative data further convinced me that the two complemented one another. In addition to the two types of field-data I collected "cuttings" from British and local Pakistani newspapers, government censuses data, and other historical materials that related to the Pakistani community in Edinburgh and in Scotland. These helped in putting the various kinds of data together and in making sense of them. This, at the same time, convinced me that the "methodological fundamentalisms" of both of the socio-metrist and the ethnographer had serious flaws. In fact all the various forms of data complemented each other.

Thus, I simultaneously started rewriting (and re-analysing) the ethnographic, quantitative and other data. This integrated writing up was the most difficult stage of the whole research process. It was a lonely and difficult practice; many of my field notes that I wrote in Persian, had to be carefully translated into English; the arising contradictions had to be resolved; and in some cases new data had to be collected. In addition I found writing up in English language a very difficult job. Apart from some problems in grammar and spelling it was very difficult in transforming field-data to the required standard of academic writing in English language. This led me to rewrite each draft several times. The rewriting was particularly frustrating when the ethnographic data could not adequately answer newly emerging questions, or when my analyses were contradicted by new events in the community. In all these cases I had to collect new data, and continue the field-work. It was one of the important benefits of living near the field (or in it) during the data analysis and writing up stage of the research process (see Jackson 1987, Ellen 1984 for this issue). Thus, the field work continued until the first draft of my thesis was completed.

The incorporation of new data and the process of changing and modifying paragraphs and sections of chapters that were already written was extremely stressful. I combated stress by running for long distances, playing tennis, going for walks to Arthur's Seat (often at midnight), and by taking countless cups of tea. In the last

stages of writing up I found it very difficult to work in my office (room no. 410 in the University's main library), in my flat or in any other structured educational environment. Thus, I took refuge in writing by hand in Edinburgh's cafes. I regularly worked while taking countless cups of tea, in Kinnel's, Rachel's, (in the Royal Botanic Garden), The Evening View, and sometimes Florentine's. I am very grateful to the friendly managers/manageresses and the staff of these cafes who also provided me with free extra hot water for my tea – I am now addicted to drinking tea!

Ethical Problems And The Limitations Of This Research

I have often asked myself what right did I have to carry out research into other people's deviance and then to write about it? My first answer was that this investigation would not cause any harm to those boys whose deviations and delinquent acts I had recorded and analysed. This is not only because I will never disclose their identities, but also because these boys and their acts will be processed into numbers that make it difficult even for me to recognise who did what. Indeed, all the data about the sixty Pilrig boys and their behaviours - deviant or non-deviant - forms the "scoring sheet" that consists of hundreds of numbers. Precisely for the sake of confidentiality, I often refer to these boys (and also other individuals) by using code-letters, instead of their names or the first letters of their names. Secondly, this research is aimed at the advancement of knowledge about the problems of the second-generation Pakistani boys that can be used for solving these problems. Indeed, I have already discussed with the community leaders of the "Pakistan Association", and "The Pakistan Society" and with other members of Edinburgh's Pakistani community the problems of the young Scottish Pakistanis in Edinburgh and the need to understand them; I have also participated in helping in resolving conflicts between some of the Pilrig boys and their parents; and I will continue to do so in the future. In addition, the study as whole reveals the problems and difficulties of the Scottish Pakistani in the wider society, and the extent of racial discrimination and exclusion that they are subject to which has serious implications for race relations in Scotland. Thus, the findings of this study can be helpful both for improving the social conditions of this particular ethnic minority and hence, for better race-relations. Finally most parents of the Pilrig boys and the boys themselves trusted me as a friend and as a researcher - I hope that I have honoured that trust.

As far as the limitations of this research are concerned they can outlined as follows:

- (1) Since I was allowed to conduct this research only among boys in the Pilrig Mosque-school, the present study ignores the deviation of girls from their community's norms. The study only shows part of the total picture. However, this was a methodological problem which was beyond my control.
- (2) Because of the limited scope of a doctoral research project, the sample of the present study is relatively small. Hence, it is difficult to make ambitious generalisations on the basis of this sample. Future researchers can expand on the issues that are explored and raised in this modest piece of research.
- (3) Because of the lack of clear differences about the socio-economic statuses of the Pilrig Boys' Parents (and difficulties of reporting about their families' incomes by the boys), the present research does not look at this important structural variable. Exploring relationships between socio-economic status and the strength of the social bond can further add to our knowledge about social control theory and criminological theory in general. However, I leave these issues for future researchers to explore.

APPENDIX iv

THE PILRIG BOYS: SELF REPORTED DELINQUENCY DATA

This data is based on the use of a self reported delinquency scale that is part of the questionnaire for this study (see Appendix ii). Results obtained from analysing the data show that "breaking windows/causing damage to any property, on purpose", and "theft over £5 in value" have strong positive correlation (0.32 and 0.20, respectively) with deviance. According to these results the correlation between "leaving a cafe or restaurant without paying" and deviance is very strong (0.35). However, "using force or its threat for getting money or something else from a person" and "participation in group fighting" are both weakly correlated (0.16 and 0.15, respectively) with deviance whereas there is no correlation (0.03) between "knocking someone down on purpose" and deviance in the Pilrig sample. The following six tables illustrate results of the self-reported delinquency data, in the Pilrig sample.

Table 1 Deviation from Mosque-School/Community's Norms by Breaking Windows/Damaging Property

		"Have you ever broken the windows of buildings or caused damage to any other property, on purpose?"				
Degree of Deviation		"Never"	"Only Once"	"Two or Three Times"	"More than Three Times"	All
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Low	1	75.00 (12)	18.75 (3)	6.25 (1)	- (0)	100.00 (16)
	2	53.12 (17)	18.75 (6)	18.75 (6)	9.37 (3)	100.00 (32)
	3	14.29 (1)	42.86 (3)	28.57 (2)	14.29 (1)	100.00 (7)
High	4	20.00 (1)	40.00 (2)	40.00 (2)	- (0)	100.00 (5)
All		51.67 (31)	23.33 (14)	18.33 (11)	6.67 (4)	100.00 (60)

Tau b = 0.32 Sig. 0.002

Table 2 Deviation from Mosque-School/Community's Norms by Leaving Cafe/Restaurant without Paying

		"Have you ever left a cafe or restaurant without paying?"				
Degree of Deviation		"Never"	"Only Once"	"Two or Three Times"	"More than Three Times"	All
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Low	1	100.00 (16)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	100.00 (16)
	2	87.50 (28)	6.25 (2)	3.12 (1)	3.12 (1)	100.00 (32)
	3	71.43 (5)	28.57 (2)	- (0)	- (0)	100.00 (7)
High	4	40.00 (2)	60.00 (3)	- (0)	- (0)	100.00 (5)
All		85.00 (51)	11.67 (7)	1.67 (1)	1.67 (1)	100.00 (60)

Tau b = 0.35 Sig. 0.001

Table 3 Deviation from Mosque-School/Community's Norms by Knocking Some One Down on Purpose

		"Have you ever, on purpose, knocked some one down?"				
Degree of Deviation		"Never"	"Only Once"	"Two or Three Times"	"More than Three Times"	All
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Low	1	43.75 (7)	18.75 (3)	6.25 (1)	31.25 (5)	100.00 (16)
	2	28.12 (9)	21.87 (7)	21.87 (7)	28.12 (9)	100.00 (32)
	3	28.57 (2)	- (0)	42.86 (3)	28.57 (2)	100.00 (7)
High	4	60.00 (3)	- (0)	20.00 (1)	20.00 (1)	100.00 (5)
All		35.00 (21)	16.67 (10)	20.00 (12)	28.33 (17)	100.00 (60)

Tau b = 0.03 Sig. 0.384

Table 4 Deviation from Mosque-School/Community's Norms by Participating in Group Fighting

"Have you ever taken part in a fight where a bunch of your friends are against another bunch?"					
Degree of Deviation	"Never"	"Only Once"	"Two or Three Times"	"More than Three Times"	All
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Low 1	50.00 (8)	12.50 (2)	25.00 (4)	12.50 (2)	100.00 (16)
2	34.37 (11)	21.87 (7)	25.00 (8)	18.75 (6)	100.00 (32)
3	28.57 (2)	- (0)	14.29 (1)	57.14 (4)	100.00 (7)
High 4	20.00 (1)	40.00 (2)	40.00 (2)	- (0)	100.00 (5)
All	36.67 (22)	18.33 (11)	25.00 (15)	20.00 (12)	100.00 (60)

Tau b = 0.15 Sig. 0.081

Table 5 Deviation from Mosque-School/Community's Norms by Theft of Over £5.00 in Value

"Have you ever taken things of some value (say over £5.00 in value) that did not belong to you without the owner's permission?"					
Degree of Deviation	"Never"	"Only Once"	"Two or Three Times"	"More than Three Times"	All
	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Low 1	87.50 (14)	6.25 (1)	6.25 (1)	- (0)	100.00 (16)
2	68.75 (22)	18.75 (6)	6.25 (2)	6.25 (2)	100.00 (32)
3	57.14 (4)	14.29 (1)	14.29 (1)	14.29 (1)	100.00 (7)
High 4	60.00 (3)	20.00 (1)	20.00 (1)	- (0)	100.00 (5)
All	71.67 (43)	15.00 (9)	8.33 (5)	5.00 (3)	100.00 (60)

Tau b = 0.20 Sig. 0.038

Table 6 Deviation from Mosque-School/Community's Norms by Using Force to get Money or Something Else from a Person

"Have you ever used force or threat of force to get money or something you wanted from a person?"						
Degree of Deviation		"Never"	"Only Once"	"Two or Three Times"	"More than Three Times"	All
		% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)	% (N)
Low	1	93.75 (16)	6.25 (0)	- (0)	- (0)	100.00 (16)
	2	75.00 (24)	15.62 (5)	3.12 (1)	6.25 (2)	100.00 (32)
	3	85.71 (6)	14.29 (1)	- (0)	- (0)	100.00 (7)
High	4	60.00 (3)	40.00 (2)	- (0)	- (0)	100.00 (5)
All		80.00 (48)	15.00 (9)	1.67 (1)	3.33 (2)	100.00 (60)

Tau b = 0.16 Sig. 0.086

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